WESLEY'S WORLD PARISH

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ny Parish."

R & STOUGHTON · CHARLES H. KELLY

WESLEY'S WORLD PARISH:

A SKETCH OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WORK OF THE WESLEYAN METHODIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY

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1913

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PREFACE

JOHN WESLEY'S famous saying, " I look upon all the world as my Parish," was not prompted by ambition or impatience of control ; it was a declaration of plain duty. Carrying in his heart " the salvation which is in Christ Jesus," he must needs make it known, so far as he might, to all his fellows. Ecclesiastical boundaries, national and racial barriers, geographical distance, have no power to limit the dispensation of the grace of God committed to the believing Christian man. " In whatever part of the world I am," Wesley explains, " I judge it meet, right, and my bounden duty to declare unto all that are willing to hear the glad tidings of salvation." This working conception of the scope of the Gospel embodied itself in the Methodist Church. The following pages attempt to narrate, in the briefest compass, the manner in which the world-mission thus imposed has, so far, been discharged. Its fulfilment is to come.

This little volume is issued in advance of the larger Centenary History of Wesleyan Missions to be published on behalf of the Missionary Society. All that is attempted here is to sketch the general course of the advance of Methodism in foreign lands, to mark the chief events and bring into view the leading personalities of the hundred years' striving for the faith of the Gospel. The difficulty of the writers has been that of selection and compression. The tithe is not told of all one would wish to tell of the doings and sufferings of Christ's ambassadors sent by our Church across the seas ; much is wanting of that which interested readers in the different provinces of world-Methodism will perhaps expect to find. We shall have space for a juster treatment, if it please God, in the extended work. Amongst the defects due to lack of space, two are particularly regrettable : the home-side of the Missionary Society has been largely ignored ; and but little indication is given of the work of sister Churches in the missionary fields on which our own is engaged. We do not forget that Methodism is but a single limb of the " one body " of Christ spread abroad through the earth. Least of all should we wish

to exclude from "Wesley's World Parish" the widely spread and vigorous missions of the younger Methodist Churches, British and American, though we have no right to include them in this story.

Help has been furnished and material derived from sources, public and private, too numerous to specify; we ask our friends kindly to accept this general acknowledgment of indebtedness. The sections on the several foreign districts have been submitted to missionary experts, from whom valuable corrections and suggestions have been received. In view of the forthcoming History, further assistance of this nature will be welcome from any informed reader.

For companion maps, we refer the reader to the *World Atlas of Christian Missions* lately published on behalf of the Student Volunteer Movement. The outline-maps supplied in the *Annual Report* of the Missionary Society, and in the last issue of the *Helpers' Union Manual* (W.M.M.S., 1d.), may serve the purpose, if no other aid of the kind is at hand. History should always be read with the Atlas at one's elbow.

The part of the two authors (father and daughter) in the work, it is needless, and would be difficult, to distinguish. The last chapter comes from the pen of the Rev. William Hare Findlay, M.A.

George G. Findlay.
Mary Grace Findlay.

WESLEY'S WORLD PARISH

CHAPTER I

A Root Out of a Dry Ground

"AS a root out of a dry ground" the Servant of the Lord, foretold by prophecy, "grew up before Him." Nothing was further from human foresight than that Christianity should have its birth from the times of the Herods and the Cæsars. The evolutionary construction of history, which reckons "without God in the world" and would reduce Jesus Christ and His religion to a mere product of the age, is dealing with a problem insoluble to its method and beyond the range of its assumptions. Naturalistic science is helpless in face of the great upward movements and the crises of regeneration in human life; these mark in fact supernatural "days of visitation," "seasons of revival from the presence of the Lord." Such was eminently the birth-time of Methodism in England.

France and England—the twin leaders of Western civilisation—by the middle of the eighteenth century appeared to be in rapid decadence. Both experienced, in the most different fashion, a momentous awakening before the century was out. Our own country had fallen into a state of national torpor, of religious declension attended with moral decay and social disorder, unexampled since the Protestant Reformation.

Bishop Butler writes, in 1751, that "the influence of religion is more and more wearing out in the minds of men"; and Montesquieu, a cool French observer of this period, testifies, in his *Notes upon England*, that "there is no religion" amongst the people—"the subject, if mentioned, excites nothing but laughter; not more than four or five of the members of the House of Commons," as he believes, "were regular attendants at church." At the same time, English morals had sunk to their lowest pitch. The Court of the first two Georges was grossly scandalous; debauched habits

and brutal sports were fashionable in all ranks of society. Political honour had become a byword. Robbery was so rife that the metropolis " hardly resembled a civilised town," and " trading justices " sat on the magistrates' bench. In 1724 an epidemic of gin-drinking—" the master-curse of English life " at this period, says the historian Lecky—broke out in London, and the alcoholic habit became from that date indigenous in Britain. Disease and crime—the latter unrepressed by a code of laws the most barbarous known to any civilised country—swelled to unheard-of proportions.

Hogarth's pictures reflect the coarseness and profligacy of English society at this epoch ; Horace Walpole's *Letters* and John Wesley's *Journal* supply an abundant commentary upon them.* The public apathy to the notorious corruption of Parliamentary life, and the indifference with which the career of the Young Pretender was watched in the years 1745–46, afford significant indications of the low ebb of patriotic spirit and loyalty in the reign of George II.

But the ebb was followed by a swift rising of the tide. The main factors in the remaking of England, witnessed in the latter half of the eighteenth century, were *political*, *industrial*, and *religious* : these three movements are associated with the names respectively of William Pitt ; of James Watt, along with Richard Arkwright and the train of inventors who followed him ; of John and Charles Wesley, and George Whitefield. The advent to power of William Pitt the elder, who became Minister for War in 1756, marks the turning-point of the national fortunes. Rarely in any age has the influence of a single man changed so completely in so short a time the spirit of a nation and the aspect of its affairs. The Great Commoner, as he was styled, gave a nobility to political debate that had been lacking since the famous days of the Long Parliament. His call aroused the soul of England, as no voice of orator or statesman had done for generations. But Pitt was more than a great parliamentarian and administrator ; he was a political genius of the first order, displaying a grasp of world-affairs, with a swiftness of insight and a sureness in action, unsurpassed in the records of statesmanship. Pitt showed himself a judge of men no less than of events, knowing how to choose and to trust

* Charles Dickens, in the story of *Barnaby Rudge*, gives a realistic description of English manners about the time of the Gordon Riots in 1780, when the lawlessness of London culminated in a frightful calamity, terminated only by the courage of George III. W. M. Thackeray's *Four Georges* throws a vivid light on the period.

his instruments, and breathing into them his lofty patriotism and his dauntless temper. By the end of the Seven Years' War (1756–63), conducted until 1761 under Pitt's direction, the struggle between England and France for colonial ascendency was ended. Robert Clive in India, James Wolfe in America, by their decisive victories had laid the foundations of the present British Empire. It is true that corrupt and reactionary influences for long overshadowed domestic politics, and that England suffered a humiliating defeat in her war with the American Colonies (1775–83), waged against Pitt's solemn protest; but the spirit he had stirred in the British people never died out, and William Pitt's indomitable and patient courage reappeared in his illustrious son, the protagonist of England's conflict with Napoleon.

At the same epoch a vast internal change began, affecting the destinies of Great Britain and the course of modern life even more than did the victory of Plassey and the capture of Quebec. The outburst of mechanical invention amongst our people, which distinguished the last thirty or forty years of the eighteenth century, forms one of the most astonishing manifestations of human genius. The new machinery became the instrument of an industrial revolution no less profound and world-wide in its consequences than the political revolution simultaneously effected in France. England's leadership in this movement secured for her a supremacy long unchallenged in the fields of manufacture and commerce. The social changes accompanying the transformation of industry had their dark and disturbing features; problems in economics and the civil order were raised by it, whose solution has still to be worked out; but the rapid development of British manufactures at this juncture brought about a multiplication of wealth, and a growth of population, which enabled this country to hold the empire thrust upon her in East and West, and which created the material resources indispensable for the struggle awaiting her in the Napoleonic wars.

The spiritual strength required for that tremendous combat was forthcoming from another source. Earlier than the industrial evolution and the patriotic awakening we have signalised, came the Methodist revival of religion, which proved the salvation and the consecration of them both. History points to-day to William Pitt the elder and John Wesley as the two master spirits of England in the eighteenth century, the chief founders of her subsequent moral and material greatness. For seventeen years before Pitt entered the Cabinet of George II., for thirty years before Arkwright introduced the spinning-frame, Wesley had been

preaching the Gospel of God on commons and village-greens, and spreading the network of the Methodist Societies over the face of England. A stream of gentler, purer, soberer, godlier life, generated at this spring, was welling up unobserved from the depths of English society, to rebuke its scepticism and vice, to cleanse and replenish the currents of national activity. By the time of John Wesley's death, in the year 1791, the England of his youth had been born again. In the new religious atmosphere a new philanthropy had come into existence—kindlier manners, humaner laws, and a far sounder and stronger public spirit, the "godliness" which "hath the promise of this life" along with the promise of the life to come. The Churches, half a century before as incapable of missionary effort as could well be conceived, were now on the point of giving birth to the great societies whose work has spread over the lands of heathendom. In God are hidden the "fresh springs" of a people's life. During the years we have surveyed, England's religious thought had taken a course the opposite of that pursued in France—a difference indicated by the contemporary names of Wesley and Voltaire; and the Revolution, which a generation before might have been equally prognosticated in either country, while it devastated the neighbouring land, left the fabric of the British commonwealth unshaken.

Let us do justice, however, to the eighteenth century. It would be wrong to charge Protestantism, or the English Churches of pre-Methodist times, with sheer indifference to the claims of the heathen and deafness to the missionary call. The Long Parliament in 1648, moved by reports of the work of John Eliot of Massachusetts, "the Apostle of the Indians," who died in 1690 after a long and fruitful missionary course, issued a manifesto in favour of missions to the heathen, urging their support upon all English Christians. Oliver Cromwell had a vision realised since his day in a better fashion, of England as Christ's witness to the whole world and the centre of an evangelical agency covering the four continents. He would have made Christian missions a department of State, and elaborated the scheme of a Protestant "Congregatio de Propaganda Fide"* designed to match that of Rome. This grand and far-sighted project lapsed with Cromwell's death and the overthrow of the Puritan Commonwealth.

* "The Congregation (*or* Committee) for Propagation of the Faith"—the title of the great Roman Catholic missionary department, established in the sixteenth century soon after the Protestant schism, which has been so powerful an instrument in the extension of Papal Christianity.

In 1698 and 1701 there came into existence through the exertions of Dr. Thomas Bray—a man of extraordinary energy and breadth of mind—the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (S.P.C.K.) and the kindred Anglican *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (S.P.G.), which to-day are flourishing institutions. The S.P.C.K. from its early days concerned itself with missions as well as literature. It first subsidised, and then largely took over, the work of the Danish-German Mission to the Tamils commenced by King Frederick IV. of Denmark at the beginning of the century.* Christian F. Schwartz, the Apostle of South India, spent the greater part of his noble career of nearly fifty years (1750–98) under the auspices of this society; but Schwartz, alas! was compelled to labour outside the bounds of British India, where missions to the Hindus were forbidden until 1813. The missionary work of the S.P.C.K. was mostly merged in that of the *Church Missionary Society* (C.M.S.), established in 1799, and of the S.P.G. which received a great extension at the turn of the century. Up to this time the income of the latter body, rarely rising above £2,000, was spent on English chaplaincies abroad and colonial parishes; its efforts to reach the heathen had been hitherto but slight and occasional. John Wesley went to Georgia, in 1735, under the appointment of this society.

The Scottish *Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge*, founded in 1709, early interested itself in foreign missions, and had the distinction of sending out David Brainerd to evangelize the Delaware Indians of North America. His brief missionary course (1742–47) has left an indelible imprint on the history of the Church, for his Memoir, written by Jonathan Edwards, kindled the missionary flame in the breast of William Carey, of Henry Martyn, and of many others of their generation. The American Indian Churches raised up by Eliot and Brainerd, and the later and most hopeful work of the Moravians amongst the same people, were laid waste through the wars and dispossessions in which the tribes of the Red Man suffered shameful wrong at the hands of colonists and Governments. George Fox and the Quakers deserve high praise for the missionary temper and aspirations they cherished, which took expression in the policy of

* Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plütschau, German Pietists trained by A. H. Francke of Halle, were the pioneers of this enterprise. It was the story of their labours which fired the missionary spirit of Susannah Wesley and set her on instructing her children about the conversion of the heathen. Ziegenbalg also influenced the Moravian leader Zinzendorf.

William Penn, founder of the State that bears his name, and in the considerate treatment of the Indians by the Quaker settlers in America.

But the Moravians put to shame all other Churches by their devotion to the world-mission of the Gospel, and by the heroism with which they have played the part of soldiers of Christ Jesus in every continent and climate. This is the one body of Christians, since the Apostolic days, which has given its whole strength and being to the world-work of Christianity. " The vast missionary energy of the Church of the Brethren is a unique fact in the history of the whole Christian Church ; and it is explained only by the fact that this Church, notwithstanding all the weaknesses attaching to it, is the manifestation of a fellowship grounded in the evangelical faith and rooted in the love of Christ. . . . In two decades the little Church of the Brethren called more missions into life than did the whole of Protestantism in two centuries."*

Under the spell of this people John Wesley was brought at the decisive hour of his life. He voyaged to Georgia in company with the first band of Moravian missionaries, whose serene and happy faith convicted him of the deep flaw in his own religion. His intimacy with the Moravian bishop Peter Böhler was the immediate prelude, and his visit to Herrnhut the sequel, to his conversion. The new life of the Gospel, which the Wesleys received, so far as concerned the stimulus and occasion of it, from the Moravian Brethren, was intensely missionary in its spirit and direction ; and Methodism might justly say respecting its origin what the Apostle Paul said of his own birth into the faith of Christ : " It pleased God to reveal His Son in me, that I might preach Him among the nations."

The story of John Wesley's conversion has often been told and need not be here repeated ; it took place on May 24th, 1738, when, as he relates, " about a quarter before nine " in the evening, while listening to a reading from Luther's *Preface* to the Epistle to the Romans, his " heart " was " strangely warmed," and through a full " trust in Christ " the sure peace of God entered his soul. The vast issues, for England and for the world, which turned upon this manifestation to the soul of one man, none could have foretold. Unwittingly Wesley had been prepared for this day and hour by his ancestral inheritance, by the whole providential guiding of his life and the shaping of his faculties.

What we note is that the conversion of the two Wesleys, John and Charles, took place under conditions, and through workings

* Warneck's *History of Protestant Missions*, pp. 63, 64.

and leadings of the Spirit of God, which gave to it a universal import; in their experience, as in the case of the Apostle Paul, there lay the seed of a world-mission. Through his Georgian expedition John Wesley had discovered that he did not possess a Gospel for the heathen, because he had not a sufficient Gospel for himself: in finding the latter, he recovered the former with it. The vital impulse of Methodism was given by this connected experience—by the consciousness that the world is mirrored in the person, the race contained in the *ego*, by the belief that the grace which has changed one sinner's heart is adequate, and is designed, to redeem a world of sinners. Three days before the light of Forgiving Love shone into JohnWesley's soul, his brother Charles had received the great assurance. On that happy day Charles Wesley wrote the familiar hymn, which commences:

"Where shall my wondering soul begin?
How shall I all to Heaven aspire?"

and which culminates in the stanza:

"Come, O my guilty brethren, come,
Groaning beneath your load of sin!
His bleeding heart shall make you room,
His open side shall take you in.
He calls you now, invites you home;
Come, O my guilty brethren, come!"

It is perfectly clear what had happened to the Wesleys, and what the outcome of this happening was likely to be. The message of God's reconciliation, coming swift and clear to the individual soul, translated itself instantly into a ministry of reconciliation for all mankind. It befell according to the word of Jesus: "The water that I shall give him shall be in him a fountain of water, springing up into eternal life."

CHAPTER II

The Adventures of Thomas Coke

The great flock gathered about him at home forbade John Wesley's personal ministry in other lands, after his return from America. To serve his world-parish a curate of no common

ability and devotion was required; such a helper was forthcoming in Thomas Coke, "the Foreign Minister of Methodism." This remarkable man was born at Brecon, in 1747, the only son of a Welsh family of some standing and wealth. His temperament was fundamentally Celtic.

A man at once more warmly loved and more severely criticized by his brethren has not been known in the Methodist ministry. Dr. Coke was a unique figure among the Preachers. Jonathan Crowther describes him as little more than five feet in height, but of a well-made and sturdy frame. "The first time I saw him," he writes, "I thought him the handsomest man I had ever seen." His eyes were dark and flashing; his hair a glossy black, setting off a ruddy complexion; his face wore an aspect of innocence and gaiety, which made him look a mere boy when turned fifty. "His voice," writes his admiring biographer, Samuel Drew, "corresponded with his appearance, being soft, engaging, and melodious; and rarely failed to captivate those who heard it." To the charms of person Dr. Coke added those of good breeding; "his habits and his consciousness as a gentleman, as a man of fortune, and as a scholar and clergyman," says Isaac Taylor, "gave him an air which, in all positions, saved his diminutive and rotund person from contempt." He was one of those great little men, in whom human sensibility and energy are concentrated. In early manhood he was elected mayor of his native town; later his *alma mater*, the University of Oxford, made him a Doctor of Civil Law. When first introduced to John Wesley, in 1778, subsequently to his entering Holy Orders, Coke had already experienced, under Methodist influences, a deep spiritual change.

Dismissed from his curacy of South Petherton in 1777 on account of his "Methodism," Dr. Coke enlisted amongst Wesley's helpers, speedily becoming a right hand to his aged chief. His training fitted him to act as Wesley's secretary, and his agent in tasks requiring legal and business knowledge. The "Deed of Declaration," which set on a permanent footing the authority of the Conference, was drawn up under his advice. At the same time, he was a fervent and pathetic preacher, and his ministry was awakening and soul-saving. The prominence in the Connexion, and the influence with its head, which Dr. Coke acquired, roused apprehensions in the minds of his brethren lest he should aspire "to stand in Wesley's shoes"; his wearing the title of "Bishop" in America strengthened this suspicion. But such self-seeking was foreign to Coke's ingenuous nature. "Bidding

Rev. Thos. Coke, D.C.L., of the University of Oxford.

adieu to his honourable name" (as Wesley said), from the time that he threw in his lot with the despised Methodists, Thomas Coke recked nothing of ease and honour; wealth, and life itself, he counted of value only as they might be spent in the service of Christ. Greater self-abnegation could hardly be conceived, in a man of his tastes and powers, than the zest with which he devoted himself through many years, on behalf of the heathen, to what he calls "the most vile, most glorious, drudgery of begging from door to door." John Wesley well appreciated the character and resourcefulness of his lieutenant, when he allowed him so largely to become a "free lance" in Methodism.

Coke's winning simplicity concealed an extraordinary enthusiasm, pertinacity, and courage. "I used," says Wesley, "to be able to do a little, with money or without; but Dr. Coke has overshot me seven times with my own bow!" From the time that he first beheld heathenism and slavery in the West Indies, he "counted all things but loss" to win the negro race for Christ; he aspired "to be the cause, immediately or remotely, of converting millions to God." To this life-work he dedicated, with a many-sided aptitude, a tireless energy and a buoyancy of spirit that no opposition could daunt or disconcert. Thomas Coke possessed the imagination and audacity of the old sea-rovers. Where dreams of empire and the lust of gold, or the mystery of the fabled seas, lured those adventurers, this hero of the Gospel was drawn by the vision of the lost treasures of God's kingdom and the masses of mankind estranged from Him.

Impulsiveness and irritability were faults almost inseparable from a sensitive and impetuous disposition like Thomas Coke's; impatience of Connexional routine was fostered in him by his detached position and independent means. Quickly roused, however, he was as quickly appeased; "often would he stand corrected, and he could beg pardon with peculiar grace." He was incapable of resentment or of party-spirit.

No clear indication is given by Coke's biographers as to the causes which first excited his missionary ardour. At the Conference of 1778—the first or second that he attended—a request was received from a couple of African chiefs that missionaries should be sent to Guinea. The proposal was declined, after hours of animated discussion; but it may well have turned Coke's attention toward the heathen world. Probably the impulse dates further back, to the moment when Wesley greeted him in August, 1776, with the prophetic words: "Brother, go out, go out, and preach the Gospel to all the world!"

Six years after joining Wesley, Coke elaborated the Plan of a "Society for the establishment of Missions among the Heathen." A copy of this programme is extant, accompanied by a letter from the author to John Fletcher of Madeley, who figures in the list of subscribers. Although the scheme proved premature, it shows that Coke's mind was early exercised upon world-missions, and that Methodism was moving in this direction.

Dr. Coke's interest in Africa was life-long. In 1795 he was entrusted with the task of finding agents for an Industrial Mission to the Fulahs of the West Coast, promoted by William Wilberforce and his friends. He made an unfortunate selection; and the experiment miscarried,—its failure leaving Coke "with a heart bleeding at every pore." Not long after this, however, he started a mission in Sierra Leone on Methodist lines (*see* p. 67); and before his death he had the joy of seeing a missionary designated by the Conference for the Cape of Good Hope.

India, too, had early touched Coke's imagination: this great field held a place in the "Plan" of 1783; in 1784 we find him corresponding with Charles Grant of the Indian Civil Service (later, one of the founders of the Bible Society), on the feasibility of a mission to Bengal. Wesley discouraged the project, judging it useless to make this venture except with a strong, well-equipped force, such as Methodism could not then supply. Moreover, the veto put by the East India Company on missions within the British pale remained unrepealed. Throughout Coke's toils and journeyings in other regions India haunted him.

Meantime, while Coke's heart was drawn towards the south and east, an imperative call came from the west. Wesley despatched him in 1784, after the conclusion of the American war, to organise the Methodist Societies of the United States on an independent footing. During the next 18 years he crossed the Atlantic Ocean eighteen times on missionary errands. Such a record a century ago meant vastly more of toil and danger than it would to-day. On three different voyages Coke's vessel was chased by French cruisers; once it was captured, and he was landed on the American shore robbed of almost everything but his papers. Travel by land or sea was in itself a delight to this adventurous man—he had a keen eye for natural scenery, and for the aspects of human life; but there were occasions when his fortitude was severely tried. In the course of one stormy and protracted voyage the captain, ascribing his misfortunes to the presence of "parsons" on his ship, in a frenzy of superstitious terror seized Dr. Coke's papers and tossed them overboard,

emphasizing with blows his threat to fling their owner after them! Yet more miserable was a later experience at sea, when severe illness was induced by the captain's brutal usage—" common delicacy," the victim remarks, " would prevent me from relating " his behaviour. Even from this untoward dispensation the gallant little Doctor extracted benefit. " During this time," he writes, " the Lord did truly speak to my heart . . . I became willing to be anything or nothing . . . to be employed or laid aside, as He judged proper. This was a spirit I was but little acquainted with before . . . I have long been willing to die, but not to be inactive while I live . . . I am sensible that I wanted all that I have suffered."

During the long weeks of shipboard life, no opportunity was missed, public or private, of preaching Christ to passengers and crew. Coke's days were mapped out as exactly as if he were living in academic retirement. On his ninth Atlantic voyage, he " finds a ship a most convenient place for study, though it is sometimes a great exercise for my feet, legs, and arms, to keep myself steady to write. . . . I seem to be at my pleasing task even while I sleep." A great part of his extensive *Commentary* on the Bible was thus composed at sea. " I have six canary birds over my head," the student adds sentimentally, " which sing most delightfully and entertain me while I am labouring for my Lord." He speaks elsewhere of a " peculiar turn of mind which the Lord has blessed me with, of extracting out of these innocent transitory things all the sweetness they are capable of yielding." On the voyage to Bombay, the study of Portuguese (for use in Ceylon), and the translation into that language of tracts, prayers, hymns and sermons, occupied his hours in all weathers: this at the age of sixty-six!

The occasion which brought Dr. Coke to America in 1784 will meet us again in Chapter IV. Francis Asbury (*see* pp. 35–37) at that time stood forth as the recognised leader of American Methodism, surrounded by a well-approved band of more than 80 Itinerants. Their converts claimed from these ministers of Christ the Sacraments (most of the Anglican clergy, the authorised dispensers, had left the country), though, ecclesiastically, Wesley's Preachers were still mere laymen. Asbury resisted the demand with extreme difficulty (*see* p. 34); in his distress he appealed to Wesley, but Wesley was unable to leave England. Failing to persuade the Bishop of London to ordain one of his Preachers for service in the States, Wesley turned in this emergency to Coke, who was a Presbyter of the Church of England, requesting him

to visit America as his commissioner. For this purpose Wesley formally *ordained* him "Superintendent,"* empowering him to ordain Francis Asbury in the same capacity, and directing the two Superintendents to ordain as "Elders" a sufficient number of the American Preachers, and to regulate, in consultation with the body of the Preachers, the affairs of the American Societies.

This ecclesiastical *coup d'état* on John Wesley's part, severely blamed by his brother Charles, was forced upon him by the necessities of the case. Naturally Wesley's two "Superintendents," being charged with episcopal powers, were forthwith dubbed "Bishops" by the matter-of-fact Americans, to the bitter indignation of Charles Wesley, who publicly and unsparingly attacked Coke upon this score, and to the embarrassment of John, who, however, threw his shield over his deputy.

Dr. Coke landed in New York, on this momentous errand, on November 3rd, 1784. At their meeting the hearts of Asbury and Coke were knit together. They drew up between them the constitution of the new Church, to which Asbury supplied the local knowledge and practical judgment, Coke the technical skill and draughtsmanship. The Conference of Preachers summoned to Baltimore recognised Coke's authority, witnessed the ordinations he was commissioned to execute, and accepted the proposed constitution. That instrument remains the basis of the Methodist Episcopal Churches to this day.

Dr. Coke returned to the States as often as he could, to assist at the Quadrennial General Conferences; in 1796 he was invited to make his residence there, and to be "wholly for America." He would have done so but for the action of the following Irish and British Conferences (1797), which showed the most affectionate reluctance to part with him, the latter body expressing its confidence by electing him its President.

To the Americans, as far as he might, Coke became an American. At the time of his third visit to the States (1788–9) the Western Conference, very properly, presented a complimentary address to George Washington on his election to the Presidency of the Republic. Thinking no harm, Coke signed this document along with Asbury, as chief officer of Methodism in the States. His action was condemned as disloyal by the Preachers at home, who shared the popular resentment against the Colonial "rebels"; nor did Wesley spare him reproof. To mark the displeasure of the Conference, Coke's name was dropped from the *Minutes*

* Richard Whatcoat (*see* p. 36) and Thomas Vasey, designated to accompany Coke, were ordained "Elders" at the same time.

for 1789; with it, curiously, the American and West Indian stations are ignored! All reappear in due form in the *Minutes* of 1790. Coke took the censure meekly, and spent the year of disgrace in preaching on behalf of the Missions and collecting money for their support—the engrossing occupation henceforth of the intervals of his missionary travels.

But it was not in the vigorous, self-reliant Methodism of the new Republic that Coke was most needed. The second American voyage (1786–87) brought him to the West Indian Islands. He had sailed from England, in September of the former year, on a vessel bound for Halifax in Nova Scotia, under instructions from Wesley to meet in Conference the Preachers of British North America before proceeding to the United States. He took with him two young missionaries for Nova Scotia, and a third designated for Antigua. Driven from her course by furious and repeated storms, the ship "already half a wreck" landed her passengers finally at St. John, Antigua. Here Coke found a Society of 1,800 Methodists—mostly negro slaves—gathered under the care of John Baxter, shipwright and local preacher (*see* Chapter V.). White people and black thronged to hear the visitor, who was received in this and neighbouring islands "as an angel of God." In six weeks Methodism was well planted in the Leeward and Windward Islands (*see* pp. 50, 51).

This was the first of five visits to the West Indies, in the course of which Dr. Coke established missions on all the principal islands under the British flag. The missionaries were to him as sons; he watched over their welfare with constant solicitude, and supplied their needs with indulgent liberality. He corresponded with them wherever he might be; in the persecutions that fell upon them he pleaded their cause with the Governments of England and of Holland (*see* Chapter V.); in fact, "the supplying the missions with what they want (not to save the public, but to carry on the work) superseded," in his estimate, "every other consideration." To the end of his life Dr. Coke stood in a peculiarly paternal relation to the West Indian Mission: his means were heavily taxed for its subsistence, and a large proportion of his capital was sunk in its fabrics. Before his death he saw the West Indian missionary staff increased to 27, and the membership to close upon 16,000.

Coke's fourth visit to the States (1790–91) was cut short by the tidings of Mr. Wesley's death. He reached England in time to attend, in June, 1791, the Irish Conference, over which he had presided as Wesley's representative from its first annual

meeting in 1782. Nowhere was he more beloved than amongst his warm-hearted Irish friends. Yet the fear lest he should assert a dictatorship, which all were determined should die with Wesley, led to his supersession from the Chair. The slight was borne in silence, though severely felt. At the British Conference, a month later, William Thompson was elected President, and Dr. Coke continued in the office of Secretary. Thanks to the " Deed of Declaration " and the provision it had made for the continuance of the Conference after Wesley's death (*see* p. 14), the transition to the new order was safely effected. Dr. Coke exerted a moderating and pacifying influence in home Methodism during the troubled years that followed.

While Dr. Coke's horizon embraced Africa, Asia, and America, he did not overlook nearer necessities. He made attempts to carry Gospel-teaching to the distracted land of France, again and again reconnoitring the approaches from the Channel Islands, where Methodism was now strongly established. In 1791, on some slight encouragement, he bought a disused church in Paris, then in the throes of the Revolution, and began preaching there ; but from this attempt he had to retire discomfited. At a later time Dr. Coke employed French-speaking preachers to minister to the French soldiers confined in English prison-camps, who responded gratefully to this attention. On a request from Methodist soldiers in Gibraltar, the first missionary Chaplain was sent thither in 1804, under Coke's direction (*see* Chapter X.).

Nearer home, it was to Dr. Coke that Methodist work in the Irish and Welsh vernaculars owed its inception—our present Welsh-speaking Districts have sprung from seed of his sowing. He had a similar design to promote Gaelic preaching in the Scottish Highlands, for which however the agents failed him. In unoccupied districts of England also, to which Methodism had not yet brought its message, Coke persuaded the Conference in 1805 to plant " Home Missions " ; these before very long grew into regular Circuits. All the undertakings we have mentioned depended on the one Mission Fund, which was raised mainly by Dr. Coke's personal exertions and administered under his superintendence.

Wesley gave Coke much liberty in his missionary campaigns, allowing him to collect subscriptions in the Home Circuits to supply the foreign exchequer. His solicitations extended beyond Methodist limits, and he became an unrivalled expert in the art of begging ; though he declared that " nothing could be

more repugnant to his natural feelings than to become an avowed mendicant," exposing himself thereby " to the frowns of the covetous, the scoffs of the profane, and the sarcasms of infidelity." This mode of raising an income was precarious, and proved inadequate as the Missions multiplied, while their extension was determined rather by the opportunities presenting themselves to Dr. Coke than by any calculation of probable resources. Hence, in 1793 a Committee was formed by the Conference to advise, and control, the Superintendent of the Missions—an arrangement renewed, more effectively, in 1804. Coke had been so much accustomed to proceed on his personal responsibility, and had so largely financed the Missions out of his private resources, that it was difficult for him to recognise the necessities of Connexional oversight. He expostulates (in 1804) with the Committee for coming between himself and the agents abroad; and he makes the observation, often echoed by missionaries since, that " a body of men, however wise, excellent, and holy, are in great danger of being too severe, especially in money matters." Time spent in Committee which might have been devoted to begging, was in his eyes deplorably wasted: " My good, dear brethren," he writes, " every Friday morning you kept me among you we lost £20 ! " Like another great Welshman and Methodist leader of a century later, the lamented Hugh Price Hughes, Thomas Coke heartily believed in " a Committee of one ! " His accounts were published at irregular intervals, but it is clear that an exact and faithful record was kept. Confident in Dr. Coke's integrity and ability as missionary director, the Methodist public tolerated with good humour his peculiar business methods.

Had it not been for Coke's evangelistic knight-errantry, his daring initiative and liberal outlay, the Wesleyan Missions could never have developed as they did in the first thirty years, nor attained the momentum with which they went forward after his decease; but one cannot help sympathizing with the careful men at home, who had to find ways and means for his reckless-seeming projects, and to meet the burden of their maintenance out of the resources of a young Church sorely straitened in providing for its domestic work. Coke threw himself impetuously forward, hearing the voice of God and sure that the people would follow. He was the man for the hour; his temperament and circumstances enabled him to take a course that would have been impossible for anyone else, but which was owned of God in its results.

The close of Dr. Coke's life was in keeping with its course. In 1813 the Charter of the East India Company was renewed by Parliament, with conditions attached which at last opened the door for the prosecution of Christian Missions in British territory. Ceylon offered the most favourable opening for a first attempt, and Coke resolved to lead an expedition thither, though now in his sixty-sixth year and conscious of the infirmities of age. To the remonstrances of Drew he writes : " I am now dead to Europe and alive to India. God Himself has said to me, ' Go to Ceylon.' I am as convinced of the will of God in this respect as that I breathe,—so fully convinced that, methinks, I would rather be set naked on the coast of Ceylon, without clothes and without a friend, than not go there."

When Dr. Coke's purpose was known volunteers were soon forthcoming, and six were chosen (*see* Chapter IX). At the Conference, held at Liverpool in July, Dr. Coke unfolded his plans and requested approval. They were strenuously opposed —partly on the ground of his age and the risk to himself, but chiefly because of the poverty of the Connexion, the costliness and unknown liabilities of the undertaking, and the existing debt upon the Mission Fund. The debate was adjourned ; and it was only on the next morning, after a second appeal made by Dr. Coke with irresistible pathos—when he pledged himself to the entire expense of the outfit—that opposition was disarmed. The scene was one which could never be forgotten ; to the impressions it created the starting of the first Auxiliary Society at Leeds in the following October (*see* Chapter III), with all that ensued from this, was due. " Did I not tell you," said Coke, when the decision was made, " that God would answer prayer ? "

The missionary party embarked at Portsmouth on December 28th with the January fleet of the East India Company, sailing under convoy for Bombay. Dr. Coke's health and cheerfulness were sustained, notwithstanding rough weather and his incessant labours, until two days before the end, when he showed signs of unwonted languor. But neither his companions nor himself apprehended any fatal issue until, on the morning of May 3rd, he was discovered lying lifeless on the floor of his cabin. He had passed away under an apoplectic seizure, apparently without a struggle.

In the evening of the same day Dr. Coke's body was committed to the waters of the Indian Ocean,—a fit burying-place for his restless frame. His eager spirit found a swift escape to the presence of the Master he had served with a single-hearted

love. With all its faults, his life-work stood fast, for it was "wrought in God." Thomas Coke bequeathed to Methodism a world-mission in active operation, and already spread from the Western to the Eastern Ocean.

CHAPTER III

The Three Mighties

The force with which the missionary fever had seized the Church of the early nineteenth century is evidenced by the manner in which it possessed the three foremost men amongst the younger Methodist ministry—Jabez Bunting, Richard Watson, and Robert Newton. No English Church at that time could boast a group of leaders more richly endowed for service and more closely linked in fellowship than were these "three mighties," whose portraits may still be seen hanging side by side on the walls of old-fashioned Methodist homes. They were of about the same age,—Bunting's life extending from 1779 to 1858, Watson's from 1781 to 1833, and Newton's from 1780 to 1854. The ministry of Bunting and Newton commenced in 1799, that of Watson in 1795, when he was but a lad of 14! The course of the last-named was, however, broken by unsettlement of view and by ill-health, so that for eleven years (1801–12) he was severed from his Wesleyan brethren.

Seen together on the missionary platform, as they not unfrequently were, this trio formed a very impressive combination. Watson and Newton stood both of them over six feet in height—the former of spare and emaciated figure, with a face of singular refinement, an air of lofty thought, and an unaffected dignity; the latter overflowing with health and good spirits, nobly simple and genial in bearing, while he was gifted with a voice incomparable in its blended melody and majesty. Coming short of the stature of his two compeers, Bunting nevertheless showed a tall and goodly presence. Without the soaring intellect of Watson or the captivating eloquence of Newton, he was a powerful thinker and a finished, incisive, and impressive speaker, surpassing both the others in the range of his abilities. His alertness and comprehensiveness of mind, his practical sagacity, and his

powers of debate and administration, gave Bunting inevitably a foremost place in public affairs in which he took part. For thirty years, as someone has said, " Jabez Bunting's brain was the focus of Methodism " ; no other man has come so near attaining John Wesley's ascendency. Bunting was the centre of the group we are delineating ; he " grappled " Watson and Newton to himself " with hoops of steel." On these men Thomas Coke's mantle fell at his departure ; they consecrated the strength of their prime to the Foreign Missionary movement, seeing in it the divinely purposed outcome of the Methodist revival. Virtually they *made* the Missionary Society, and the great cause they had espoused proved the *making* of them.

Dr. Coke loved the young preachers, and was fond of taking them with him on his rounds of begging. In this way he laid hold of Robert Newton, and imbued him with the missionary passion ; the old man's " dreams " became the young's man's " visions." With Jabez Bunting Coke's associations were intimate. Bunting's rare abilities were quickly recognised and turned to account by the older chiefs of Methodism. At the end of his Probation (1803) he was stationed in London, and was set to unravel the tangle in which the funds of the Missions and the Book Room had become involved. This task he accomplished to every one's satisfaction. In 1808 he was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Conference, in aid of Dr. Coke. When the missionary leader appealed, in 1813, for volunteers to accompany him to India, Bunting stepped forward. He was then 34 years of age, with a delicate wife and a brood of little children ; he held the office of Chairman of his District, and already exercised a potent voice in the counsels of the Connexion ; but no such considerations deterred him. The protests of his friends, including Coke himself, and the warning that Conference would refuse its consent to his going abroad, hardly restrained him from the sacrifice. Forbidden to descend the mine himself, Jabez Bunting took it for his part to ' hold the ropes ' for others. Henceforth it became a main purpose of his ministry at home to further the work of God abroad.

The fruit of this dedication was speedily seen. Dr. Coke had visited Leeds in the early summer of 1813, when contemplating his mission to the East. He discussed with several of the Leeds laymen the prospects of the Missionary Fund, the care of which must now rest on other shoulders than his own. These gentlemen, William Brigg and William Gilyard Scarth in particular, suggested the idea of a Methodist Missionary Society, which should make

Rev. Jabez Bunting, D.D.

Drawn by J. S. Heape.

the Missions for the future " a public cause," no longer dependent on the exertions of a single man. This proposal, mooted privately at the ensuing Liverpool Conference (*see* p. 22) was taken up forthwith by the newly appointed Superintendent of the Leeds Circuit and the Chairman of the Leeds District, who were respectively George Morley (subsequently Treasurer, and afterwards Secretary of the Missionary Society) and Jabez Bunting. The latter promptly put the suggestion of Coke's friends into execution, with the co-operation of ministers and laymen of his own and neighbouring Circuits and the approval of the Missionary Committee in London. Assured of support, he worked out the plan of an " Auxiliary Missionary Society " for the Leeds District. These preparations made, he summoned a public gathering of the Methodist people of the District to consider the missionary crisis, and take action thereupon.

The assembly met in the old St. Peter's Chapel (or " Boggard House ") at Leeds, on the 6th day of October, 1813 : it was crowded, unanimous, and enthusiastic ; and it represented unmistakably the mind and strength of Yorkshire Methodism. Thomas Thompson, a Hull merchant and a philanthropic Member of Parliament, occupied the Chair of the meeting, surrounded on the platform by the most revered and able men whom Methodism in the county could command, including two Ex-presidents of the Conference, James Wood and Charles Atmore—men of Wesley's time—whose concurrence endorsed the proceedings. By its voice and vote, so far as the Leeds and neighbouring Districts were concerned, Methodism was committed to Foreign Missions.

The date of that meeting is counted *the birthday* of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. Other Districts followed suit ; the Conference of 1814 sanctioned the action taken, and commended the example to the entire Connexion. By the year 1818 the formation of Auxiliary Societies, upon the Yorkshire plan, had extended through the other Districts, and the Conference was able to centralise them in the fully constituted W.M.M.S., with its General Treasurers, General Secretaries, and Executive Committee, of ministers and laymen, sitting in London. Bunting played a leading part in all these developments.

The step taken by the youthful Chairman of the Leeds District revealed his courageous faith, and his powers of generalship. The London Missionary Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society had set the example in the formation of Local Auxiliaries, under whose direction annual public meetings were held and a net-work of collectors was spread over the country.

This mode of working was new, however, to Methodism; its Chapels had hardly been employed for any purposes beyond those connected with the worship of the congregation and the fellowship of the Church in the given place; no other uses were contemplated in their trust-deeds. Conservative prejudices were excited and grave heads shaken over the new departure. The Leeds experiment had no Conference warrant behind it; high authorities pronounced it an "unconstitutional proceeding," a "dangerous precedent!" The Rules of the District Missionary Society, and the appointment of its officers, possessed no legitimation beyond that given them by the show of hands in a public meeting. By the course they took, Bunting and his friends exposed themselves in case of failure to severe censure; they ran the risk of stirring up Connexional strife. The feeling of not a few fearful saints was expressed by the old Preacher who ejaculated, at one of the early meetings in which Bunting spoke, "We must put down the impudence of that young man."

Bunting and Morley, in effect, forced the hand of the Conference by their decisive action. That body at its previous meeting in Liverpool (*see* p. 22) had been hardly persuaded to sanction Dr. Coke's mission to the East; oppressed by home necessities, it failed to meet the emergency arising from his removal and to provide for the replenishing of the missionary Exchequer, which was nearing exhaustion. Dr. Coke was leaving behind him, added to the burden of the older missions, a new liability of undefined extent in the prospective annual cost of the work in Ceylon—there must be a signal advance in missionary contributions throughout the Connexion, or a disastrous retreat. Jabez Bunting realised the situation in all its gravity, and caught the "psychological moment" for turning it to account. Gauging aright the popular feeling, he discerned and seized the opportunity for a great stroke of missionary policy. In a short month after Bunting's coming to Leeds, the whole outlook was changed. The St. Peter's meeting of October the 6th made the maintenance of the Missions emphatically "a public cause"; the consent of Methodist Yorkshire gave earnest of the disposition of Methodism throughout the country. Bunting had in point of fact submitted the case to the verdict of the people; the response he elicited, by its hopefulness and resolution, afforded a refreshing contrast to the fears of the Conference of three months before.

When the next Conference met, to find the missionary movement spread from end to end of the Connexion and funds flowing into the depleted treasury, criticism was silenced, and the

Missionary Society was put in the way of establishment upon its permanent basis. The approval of Jabez Bunting's conduct was shown by his election at that Conference (1814) to the ranks of the Legal Hundred—the first man to be chosen otherwise than by seniority—and by his promotion to the Secretary's Chair in succession to Dr. Coke. From 1818–20 and again from 1821–24, while stationed in London, he was the official Secretary of the Missions, and remained permanently so from 1833 to the end of his course. In or out of office, so long as he lived, Bunting's authority was paramount in missionary affairs.

Richard Watson, restored in the previous year through Jabez Bunting's mediation to the Wesleyan Itinerancy, was "travelling" at this time in the Wakefield Circuit. Since his retirement (1801), he had served for a few years in the ministry of the Methodist New Connexion (founded in 1797); withdrawing from this service through failure of health, he was occupied for a while in journalism. Being Bunting's near neighbour, at Wakefield, Watson was readily enlisted to help his friend's missionary campaign. He threw into the enterprise, without reserve, his splendid powers, now coming to their maturity. On the morning of the missionary assembly he preached a mighty sermon, which was widely circulated in the following months, upon Ezekiel's vision of the Dry Bones; the printed appeal which emanated from the missionary meeting, was likewise of his composition. Hitherto little heard of, Watson sprang suddenly into fame. Along with Bunting, he was in demand for Missionary sermons and speeches up and down the country. He rendered invaluable service in the foundation of the District Auxiliaries.

Watson combined literary and pulpit gifts of an order unique in the Methodist ministry of his generation; he ranked amongst preachers with such men as Robert Hall and William Jay. His mind was lofty and discursive, strong both in logic and imagination; his utterance flowed in a pure, full, and richly varied strain; his sensibilities were exquisitely strung, and there was in him a vein of pathos, deepened and chastened by physical suffering, which profoundly touched the hearts of men. To cultivated and philanthropic minds Watson appealed with singular effect; he fascinated and subdued. He brought to the missionary argument elements of philosophic reflexion and poetic feeling that no other advocate could contribute. While Bunting planned, persuaded, organized, controlled, Watson illuminated and inspired the missionary march of Methodism.

Richard Watson was appointed General Missionary Secretary

on his removal from Hull to London in 1816; for five years he united this office with his Circuit ministry—in the excessive toil of that period the foundations of his fatal malady were laid. In 1821 he became a "separated" Secretary, and so continued for six years longer.* Leaving London for the North in 1827, under the title of "Honorary Secretary" he continued to serve the Society by correspondence, until the Conference of 1832 recalled him to the Mission House. But his long and brave struggle with physical disease was nearing its conclusion. The release came on January 8th, 1833, in the fifty-second year of his age.

Watson was the first to hold the Secretaryship for any length of years; he proved an effective, and in many ways exemplary, missionary chief. With all his bookishness and his abstracted manner, he had practical insight and clear perceptions. He could inform himself rapidly and surely, with the journalist's facility, on any subject that required attention; and had the good sense to consult and defer to expert knowledge in matters outside of his competence. He was a sound judge of men, and took a lively and watchful interest in public affairs. He possessed, above all, the "heart at leisure from itself" and the sympathetic imagination which enabled him, though no foreign traveller, to realise the position of exiles in other climes and to enter into their feelings and needs. The missionaries regarded him with reverence and affection. The official in him never overlaid the man and the brother minister. His letters have everywhere the touch of "style" upon them, and manifest an ease and play of humour that one would not suspect from his severer compositions. When a pamphlet had to be written in defence of the Society, or an address of courtesy or expostulation sent to some Colonial Officer or Government department, Watson's pen was in requisition. He collaborated with Bunting in the framing of the Rules and Constitution of the Missionary Society, which took their conclusive shape in 1818. For many years he prepared the Annual Report of the Society; in his time the reading of it was a prominent and welcome feature of the great London meetings. Into the dullest financial details, and the dry routine of office-work, he infused an ethereal spirit. Richard Watson transacted missionary affairs with the grand air of a Secretary of State for the Kingdom of God!

Jabez Bunting was supreme in Conference discussion and

* The Book Room and the Mission House were the only "Departments" of Wesleyan Methodism at that date; and office in each of them was limited to a term of six years.

Committee-management; Richard Watson at the writer's desk, or in the intellectual circle; but Robert Newton was the darling of the people. Newton was one of Nature's noblemen, on whom Divine grace had set a luminous signature. His kingly presence, matchless voice, and artless, enchanting oratory made him a born master of assemblies—the most popular English speaker of his time, if one should estimate popularity by the multitudes who gathered to hear him day by day in all parts of England, through a ministry covering half a century. He exercised the same spell on his visit to the United States in 1840, which was in fact a national event. The work of missions to the heathen supplied Newton's most frequent and inspiring theme. In its furtherance his incessant journeys were made, his splendid strength was lavished, and his unrivalled sway over audiences of all kinds was exercised, with a joyous self-abandonment.

In their early ministry, at Huddersfield, Newton and Bunting were thrown together and became fast friends. At the time of the Leeds foundation-meeting Newton was residing in London, but next year saw him Watson's successor in the Wakefield Circuit; he made his *début* on the missionary platform at the first Leeds anniversary in the autumn following (1814). From this time he was in constant requisition for missionary occasions, in town and village, all over Methodism. The announcement of Robert Newton's name was sufficient to crowd the largest building in which he might appear. His popularity was of the most wholesome kind; with all their pleasantry and their art of winning large collections, his sermons and speeches invariably aimed at the conversion of sinners and the consecration of talent and wealth to the service of God; in these respects they were abundantly fruitful. He created the atmosphere of the missionary meeting; he set the standard of its speaking and its giving. More than any other man, Robert Newton won for the cause the firm hold upon the affections of the Methodist common people in which its strength resides. The premiership in advocacy belongs to the third of our three master-builders, although he never held, nor desired, a place on the official staff of the Society.

It is related that as Robert Newton lay dying he was seen "suddenly to raise himself on his pillow, and with a superhuman smile to beckon repeatedly to the further end of the room," as if to some unearthly presence; he "bowed and waved his hand, an expression of the highest rapture resting on his features. Then, as if in answer to some inquiry, he said: 'I am a Methodist

Preacher, an old Methodist Preacher.' " With this good confession on his lips, Robert Newton joined the Church triumphant. Glorying in the Gospel that had so fully saved himself, he would have it proclaimed " in all creation under heaven " ; and he strove to set every man upon this business whom his mighty voice could reach.

Around the chiefs we have described a great band of helpers gathered : there was William Dawson of Barnbow, the Local Preacher whose speech formed the climax of the first Leeds meeting, and who for many years shared with Dr. Newton the chief honours of the Methodist platform ; there was Dr. Adam Clarke, whose evangelical ardour, vast erudition, and unique personal influence gave prestige to the infant Society ; James Wood, Ex-president and the first ministerial Treasurer—venerated for his sanctity and rich pastoral ministry ; Joseph Butterworth and Thomas Thompson, Members of Parliament and men of God, who in succession filled the office of Lay Treasurer ; James Buckley and Jonathan Edmondson, the first pair of Secretaries serving the Society after 1813 ; Walter Griffith—the wise, genial, graceful Irishman, a bosom friend of Bunting's—whose hearty support as President of the Conference in 1813–14 sustained the success of the Leeds endeavour ; Joseph Taylor the second, President in 1834—a missionary to the West Indies, then the first-appointed resident Secretary of the Society, on whom the heaviest labour of its current business and correspondence devolved—for years the trusted colleague of Watson and of Bunting ; Richard Reece and Thomas Jackson, both speakers at the first meeting and eminent Presidents, who lived to be in turn the patriarchs of Methodism ; and " the others," beyond numbering, " whose names are in the book of life."

* * * *

Space fails for more than a slight reference to the men who in honourable succession have subsequently served upon the Mission Staff at home. John Beecham (1831–56), and Elijah Hoole (1834–72), for many years sat by Dr. Bunting's side at the Mission House. Dr. Hoole was a man of Indian missionary experience and learning (p. 120), of first-rate business ability, and fine Christian courtesy, who lived in and for the Society. Dr. Beecham was unsurpassed in thoroughness, patience, and sagacity—a missionary statesman, able to grasp and handle matters of the kingdom of God in their relation to questions of Church polity and civil government. The Affiliated Conferences (*see* Chapter XI.) are his chief monument.

In the years 1851–68 a notable pair of colleagues occupied secretarial chairs—George Osborn and William Arthur, the foremost Conference leaders of their day. Dr. Osborn inherited much of the spirit and power of Dr. Bunting. Mr. Arthur (an ex-Indian missionary, *see* p. 123) united a modern outlook and wide culture with high evangelical fervour; the new departures of the Society in Italy and China made in the 'sixties, and the revival of our Indian Missions (*see* Chapter XIV.), owed much to him. After Dr. Newton, William Arthur was the most commanding figure on our missionary platform. William B. Boyce (1861–76) brought a wide knowledge of South African and Australian affairs to the Mission House (*see* pp. 90, 142), with great powers of application, shrewd insight, and a keen wit. Luke H. Wiseman (1868–75) and George T. Perks (1868–77)—"par nobile fratrum," honoured and beloved—followed Osborn and Arthur at Bishopsgate, soon to be sadly snatched away by death. Their successors—John Kilner (1876–88) and Ebenezer E. Jenkins, (1877–88), Marmaduke C. Osborn (1877–91), William Morley Punshon (1878–81), George W. Olver (1881–1900), down to the present worthy officers of the Society—are men known to the present generation; it is needless to recall their image. Amongst the succession of valued Lay Treasurers of the Society (who belong to its inner cabinet), beginning with Thomas Thompson, M.P. (*see* p. 25), Thomas Farmer held the purse-strings for twenty-five years (1837–62). He gave to this office a new importance, making it the business and satisfaction of his life.

CHAPTER IV

Colonial Pioneers

Methodism had spread overseas a quarter of a century before Thomas Coke began his voyages. Its growth on Colonial soil resembled that of the British Empire, the extension of which came about in the first instance through sporadic private adventure, this being followed by local association inviting the control and fostering care of the Mother Country, through which the dependencies have been reared to adult nationhood. The daughter Churches of Methodism have passed through a parallel

development. We shall trace in this chapter the Colonial work of our Missions through its earlier stages until the year 1833, which was critical in various respects. The formation of the Affiliated Conferences, with the events leading thereto, will occupy our attention in Chapter XI. Thereafter Colonial Methodism passes beyond our purview.

The West Indies and South Africa, as Colonial lands, come under the heading of this chapter. But in the former case our Church was mainly concerned with the negroes, and South African Methodism has from the first been deeply involved in heathen-missionary work. It is necessary therefore to set South Africa and the West Indies apart, being countries whose Methodist history departs from the Colonial type. The history of New Zealand, again, differs widely from that of Australia. The Maoris were there our primary objective; and Christian Missions opened the way for colonisation. The original New Zealand Mission resembled those of other South Sea Islands; its place falls therefore in Chapter VIII.

North America and *Australia* remain for our present consideration. On each of these continents the Church had, and still has, native questions to face. But while it has not ignored either the American Indians or the Australian Aborigines, in neither instance were these its first solicitude; in both fields the Native work has depended on the Colonial, and is overshadowed by it.

In the Colonies Methodism began spontaneously, through the over-flowing life of the home Church. Converted immigrants and soldiers carrying on their lips the testimony of Jesus, like the first believers dispersed from Jerusalem, went everywhere "speaking the word." Springing from this wind-borne seed, the Gospel took root on American and African and Australian shores. Local Preachers and Class-leaders—often men in humble walks of life, seeking their bread in exile—were our first missionaries. The little struggling Churches which these faithful witnesses gathered about them, reported themselves to Mr. Wesley or to the Conference in England, and invited help. Missionaries were sent out who took charge of the infant Societies, established them in the Methodist doctrine and discipline, and made them centres of evangelism. New Preachers were raised up from the Churches thus formed, and the range of itinerancy extended. Circuits were mapped out, with their superintending and assisting ministers; the Circuits were organized into Districts; and these finally into Conferences. Thus the system of Methodism

reproduced itself in Greater Britain, from its nucleus in the Class-meeting and the village Society up to the legislative Conference.

Wales gave to Methodism Thomas Coke; Ireland furnished many of the pioneers and founders who followed him. The records of Colonial and American Methodism, like the history of the British Empire, owe some of their finest chapters to the enterprise, courage, and versatile ability of Irish leaders.

The Older American Colonies

Early in the eighteenth century a small community of German Protestant refugees from the Palatinate* settled in county Limerick. Lacking religious ordinances, "the Palatines" had sunk into a deplorable condition, when Methodist preaching reached them in 1749. A great change was speedily wrought in the immigrants; and when John Wesley visited their hamlets in 1756, he found "a plain, artless, serious people," with a growing Methodist Society in their midst. Their poverty compelled a second migration. A party of the Irish Palatines sailed for New York in 1760, including Philip Embury, a Local Preacher and a carpenter by trade, and his wife, Mary Switzer; Philip's cousin, Barbara Heck, with her husband and a second contingent from the clan, followed shortly afterwards. In the new country the immigrants lost their religious zeal; Embury desisted from preaching, until, in 1766, he was roused by the appeal of his cousin Barbara: "You must preach to us here," cried she, "or we shall all go to hell; and God will require our blood at your hands!" Embury began to preach in his own house, and formed a Society Class of five persons. Other lapsed or isolated Methodists joined this little band, and the seedling of American Methodism took root.

Outgrowing Embury's cottage, the congregation moved to a room near the barracks, where it attracted some of the English soldiers. Amongst these appeared one day, early in 1767, an officer of benevolent aspect wearing a green shade over his right eye. This was Captain Thomas Webb, a spiritual son of John Wesley and a zealous Local Preacher. The accession of this "man of fire" (as Wesley describes him) greatly stimulated the Society; the fame of the Captain's preaching, and of his striking figure,

* The old name of the Rhenish Provinces in Western Germany, which are predominantly Roman Catholic.

spread through the town. Larger premises were hired, which in turn became too small. Barbara Heck now proposed building a church: Captain Webb headed the subscription-list, to which the names of prominent New York citizens were added; the poorer members of Society contributed the work of their hands. Wesley sent money, books, and a clock. So in 1768 the Old John Street Church of New York, which is accounted the cradle of American Methodism, was built. All this was a purely lay creation.*

The priority of New York Methodism is, however, disputed by Maryland. In that State, some time between 1760 and 1766, an Irish farmer and Local Preacher of the name of Robert Strawbridge settled at Sam's Creek, and quickly opened his commission. A man of uncommon pulpit-power, Strawbridge's preaching from the outset was widely acceptable, and Methodism spread in the first generation much more rapidly in Maryland and the Southern States than in New York and New England. Strawbridge became "virtually an Itinerant," travelling over an extensive round and "preaching with an ardour and fluency which drew hearers in multitudes to his rustic assemblies." His neighbours combined to manage his farm during his long and frequent absences. "Wherever he went, he raised up Preachers"; the little Sam's Creek Society, worshipping in a rough-hewn log-chapel, sent out a large proportion of the first Itinerants reared on American soil.

Maryland Methodism was true-born, but ruggedly independent. Strawbridge and his people made no appeals for British help or oversight; Asbury and the other Preachers found it difficult to bring them into line, and Strawbridge's name appears and disappears from the American Stations perplexingly. Strawbridge assumed the right, uncommissioned by any ministry, to give the Sacraments to his isolated flocks. This action threatened to bring about a schism; but Asbury's patient and conciliatory spirit prevailed, and after 1784 the chief cause of contention was removed by the granting of authorised Sacraments to the people (see pp. 17, 18).

The New York Society, having built its church, applied to

* About the year 1770 the Embury-Heck families removed from New York to Ashgrove, a new settlement on Lake Champlain in the same State. Here they became the centre of a large Methodist Society. Here, also, Philip Embury finished his course, in 1775. The outbreak of the war compelled the company to a third migration, and we shall meet them again in Canada (p. 42).

Wesley for " an able and experienced " minister ; who must be " a man of wisdom, of sound faith, and a good disciplinarian." Other helpers were required elsewhere. If the passage-money of the needed Preachers could not otherwise be provided, the Americans are prepared " to sell their coats and shirts " ! In response to this appeal, at Wesley's instance, Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor were sent out from Leeds in 1769—the first missionaries appointed by the Methodist Conference ; the Preachers raised on the spot, out of their scanty means, the sum of £70 for their assistance. Pilmoor took his station at Philadelphia, to which city Methodism had been extended by Captain Webb's preaching, and Boardman in New York, exchanging between the two centres. Both men did good service, until the war drove them home.

By this time Embury's and Strawbridge's circles of Societies, in north and south, had come into touch, and the vast extent of the whitening fields became apparent. From the Bristol Conference of 1771, on a further appeal, Wesley despatched two more Preachers to America. Of this second couple, one was Francis Asbury (born at Handsworth, in Staffordshire), God's greatest gift to American Methodism—the Apostle of the West, and the architect, under Christ, of the largest ecclesiastical fabric in English-speaking Christendom. Asbury was a man of spare but enduring physique, of gracious and attractive presence, homely and gentle manners, and a tenderly affectionate disposition. His strong practical sense was sustained by resolute will and extraordinary governing ability. The scanty education of his boyhood had been improved by incessant diligence. But the secret of his power lay in the absolute devotion to God which made him ready for every extreme of self-denial and every exigency of service. Francis Asbury during the forty-five years of his American ministry accomplished a work and acquired an influence comparable to that of John Wesley himself. By the time of his death, in 1816, the Methodist Episcopal Church numbered 700 Travelling Preachers, most of them American-born, and about 218,000 Church-members. Forty years before, at the date of the Declaration of Independence, the membership was 5,000.

Asbury's unique position was due to the fact that he remained throughout the war in the Colonies, risking both liberty and life ; he stood by his flock while the rest of the English Preachers —some of them indeed under compulsion—recrossed the Atlantic. At first he had to live and work in concealment ; but after a

while the authorities of the States recognised his political harmlessness, and it was possible for him, though threatened and sometimes maltreated, to resume his travelling superintendency. Writing thirty years later, he describes this period as "the most active, the most useful, and most effective part of my life," and adds that "the children and the children's children of those who witnessed my labours and my sufferings in the day of peril, now rise up by hundreds to bless me." By rendering spiritual service throughout the struggle and identifying itself with the new nation, Methodism gained a firm hold on the American people.

The prompt action of Wesley in commissioning Dr. Coke, at the close of the war, to organize this separated Church on an independent footing (*see* pp. 17, 18), the concord of Asbury and Coke in the matter, and the excellent temper shown by all concerned, brought the crisis to the happiest issue. While Coke assisted as a visitor in the business of the Conferences, Asbury, though his heart yearned for England, had thrown in his lot with the Republic; in sympathies and outlook he had become an American, and was for many years the sole administrative head of the Methodist Episcopal communion. Dr. James Dixon has justly called Asbury, in virtue of the greatness of his character and the outcome of his labours, "the second man in Methodist history."

One could have wished to linger on the names of the men who surrounded Asbury and Coke (*comp.* p. 18) at the epoch-making Baltimore Conference of Christmas, 1784—that "spiritual cavalry" who scoured the American States and won their people for Christ. Richard Whatcoat was there, fresh from England, and ordained Elder by John Wesley before he sailed with Dr. Coke, in 1800 to be raised to the episcopate, when the infirmities of Asbury compelled the appointment of a third bishop. "Never," it was said of this occasion, "were holier hands laid upon a holier head." Freeborn Garretson was there—afterwards lent to Nova Scotia (p. 40)—a convert of Asbury's, who had left a home of wealth and refinement to espouse a lot which he thus describes, in writing to Wesley: "Once I was imprisoned, twice beaten, left on the highway speechless and senseless . . . once shot at . . . once delivered from an armed mob in the dead of night by a surprising flash of lightning . . . stoned frequently." There, too, were Joseph Everett, "the roughest-spoken Preacher that ever stood in the Itinerant ranks,"—rude in speech but not in knowledge; and

John Dickins, Etonian scholar and saint, of whom Asbury bears witness that "for piety, probity, profitable preaching, holy living and secret prayer, I doubt whether his superior is to be found in Europe or America,"—with others worthy to rank with these. From the life-stories of the men of this Baltimore Conference a companion volume to *The Lives of the Early Methodist Preachers* might be compiled. With reluctance we quit such company. From the Conference of 1784 the Methodism of the United States went on its own brave way.

Newfoundland

Newfoundland projects from North America like a hand outreached to grasp what the East may send. After the discovery of the island by the Cabots in 1497, English traders and fishermen soon frequented its shores, and gradually settled along the eastern coast. With little care or protection from Government, they remained for two centuries a lawless and often godless race of men. But two clergymen were labouring in the island when the first Methodist preacher arrived in 1765.

This was Lawrence Coughlan, whose coming synchronized with the beginnings of Methodism in Maryland and New York. Previously serving in the Irish Itinerancy, Coughlan had attracted Wesley's notice. He withdrew, however, from the ministry to go abroad, and settled at Harbour Grace, on Conception Bay. Without church or school, the people of this district "practised unchecked every crime that can degrade human nature." Coughlan could not be silent; plainly and tenderly he bore his witness. In a few months he returned home, reporting his experience to Wesley, on whose advice he joined the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and obtaining ordination returned to Newfoundland as a missionary clergyman. He continued in correspondence with Wesley, and remained in principle a Methodist. When, after some years of patient sowing, the harvest of his labours began to appear, Coughlan gathered his converts into Classes on the Wesleyan pattern: "My preaching in this land," he writes to Wesley, "would do little good, were it not for our little meetings." The severity of the climate, and the relentless opposition that Coughlan encountered, ruined his health; in 1773 he returned to England a broken man, leaving behind him 200 communicants, all awakened under his ministry. We shall find the Newfoundland Methodism of those infant days reacting upon Europe (p. 128).

Before Coughlan left Newfoundland, there arrived John Stretton, a Local Preacher from Limerick, who settled as a merchant not far from Harbour Grace. With the help of Arthur Thomey —another Irish trader, converted under Coughlan—Stretton shepherded the Methodist remnant after their minister's departure. The majority of Coughlan's flock gave up their Methodist practices through intimidation; some thirty were found who asserted their liberty. For these Stretton and Thomey "drew up rules" (the former relates) "as like Wesley's as we could, consistently with local circumstances." They preached, visited the sick, met the Classes, and extended Coughlan's Circuit. So these devoted Irish laymen shielded and nourished Christ's little flock in desolate Newfoundland.

In 1774 a third helper came in the person of John Hoskin (*or* Hoskins), a Methodist school-master from Bristol, who settled about fifty miles from the earlier labourers. Hoskin found the fisher-folk so ignorant of religion that "they did not know how to behave in Divine service—no, not to kneel in prayer, or sing at all!" His preaching brought about a revival in 1778–79, followed by the extension of Methodism through the south-east of the island. Persecution grew furious, and Hoskin went in daily peril of his life. As the work spread, a crying need arose for superintendence; the lay preachers could no longer meet the calls upon them. Stretton wrote to Wesley: "The work is at a stand here, and superstition and profaneness increasing; we want" a minister "given wholly to the work." In answer to this appeal, John M'Geary was sent by the Conference of 1785; but he was scarcely of the heroic mould which Newfoundland demanded. The settlements were far apart; roads, bridges, horses, alike were wanting. Scrambling over rocks, wading through streams, lashed by wind and rain or blinded by the snow, the Methodist Preacher, then and for long years afterwards, traversed on foot his immense Circuit, "nunny-bag" on back, ministering to a people as hardy and laborious as himself. To the hindrances of Nature were added, in the earlier years, unscrupulous animosity on the part of those in power. In other Colonies friendly relations frequently existed between the Methodists and Church of England people; in Newfoundland the case was sadly opposite. But perseverance in well-doing at last wore down official prejudice, while the hospitality of the fishermen sweetened the weary preacher's toil.

M'Geary was ready to sink in despair, when in 1791 William Black of Nova Scotia (*see* pp. 39–41), whom Dr. Coke had recently

appointed Superintendent of the work in the Eastern Provinces and Newfoundland, visited the island. Black brought revival and inspiration wherever he moved ; in six weeks he settled and organized the Newfoundland Societies, and made secure for Methodism the ground so hardly won. M'Geary retired from the field in 1792 (the Church-membership by this time numbered 270) ; two years later George Smith arrived from England to fill the gap—a strong man, " of the John Wesley type." From this date Newfoundland had a fixed place on the Missionary Stations, and the staff of Preachers was augmented till in 1816 it numbered 11, while Methodism gradually spread along the eastern coast.

Other causes contributed to raise the condition of the population ; before the middle of the nineteenth century its character was transformed. Between the years 1820 and 1830 Methodism grew rapidly ; revivals broke out at intervals along the coast, from St. John's to Bonavista. The next decade opened with a period of economic distress amounting to famine : the fisheries failed, and blight attacked the potatoes—up to that time the only crop raised on the soil ; and disease followed in the track of want. But the tide of religious revival swelled ; despite the ravages of death, the membership rose from 1830–32 by more than 50 per cent. ; in 1833 the Church numbered close upon 2,000.

Though presenting no name of outstanding eminence, the Newfoundland ministry of those days was distinguished by its sturdy strength and level excellence, while the people were remarkable for their energy, simplicity, and warmth of attachment. In the years 1825–29 efforts were made from Newfoundland to reach the heathen Esquimaux, but they proved abortive.

The Newfoundland District was the first foreign contributor to the Missionary Society, forwarding to the London Mission House in 1817 a sum of more than £30.

Nova Scotia and New Brunswick

At the Baltimore Conference of 1784 a stranger was present hailing from Nova Scotia, William Black by name. He was a powerfully built Yorkshireman of twenty-four, whose family had emigrated with a Methodist party about ten years earlier from the neighbourhood of Huddersfield. William Black, the father, was a friend of Wesley's, who on hearing of his intended removal, deprecated his " going from a place where he was much

wanted." The Methodist fire for a while burned low in the little colony, but flamed into revival in 1779, when the younger William, at the age of nineteen, was brought to the knowledge of Christ. At once he began to testify, and with awakening effect. Aided by a few like-minded companions, he began systematic preaching, and on attaining his majority devoted himself to the work of an evangelist. His travels extended over a thinly settled area of 50,000 square miles. Black had no training for the ministry, no guide but the Spirit of God. Wesley's Hymns supplied his Commentary; by their help, through close study and a remarkably sound understanding, he drew from Scripture an effective theology. When books reached him, he knew how to use them; before the end of his laborious life he had become well-versed both in Divinity and Church History.

In 1783, at the close of the War of Independence, came the influx of the "United Empire Loyalists," whose adherence to the British flag made them fugitives from the States. Nearly 30,000 of the refugees settled in the Province of Nova Scotia, most of whom were located in the north-western part of it, known (from 1784) as New Brunswick. Among the newcomers were a sprinkling of Methodists, whose arrival greatly added to Black's responsibility, but brought him valuable assistance. The brothers John and James Mann, with Robert Barry (a friend and correspondent of Wesley's), were enlisted as Preachers, and count amongst the fathers of Nova-Scotian Methodism.

More than once Black wrote for counsel and aid to John Wesley, who advised him of Dr. Coke's first visit to the States. Black travelled to meet Coke at Baltimore, and laid his cause before Wesley's delegate and the Conference. He secured two American Preachers, forthwith ordained by Coke for Nova Scotia, one of whom was Freeborn Garretson (*see* p. 36).

The preachers lent by the United States were soon withdrawn; the two designates for Nova Scotia who sailed with Dr. Coke from England in autumn 1786, were driven by storm to the West Indies, and there detained (*see* p. 51). Thus Nova-Scotian Methodism, now numbering 500 in Society, again found itself without an ordained minister. So it remained, with a brief interval, until Black, accompanied by the brothers Mann, repaired once more to the Conference of the M. E. Church (1791). The three were ordained Elders by Coke and Asbury; and Black was commissioned, despite his youth, as "Presiding Elder" of Methodism in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. His first care was to make an extensive tour (*comp.* p 39), administering the

Sacraments in all the Societies. From Halifax he writes : " How has God changed the scene since I came here in 1786 : the Society is now eight times larger, and eight times more spiritual ! "

Further help was subsequently sent from the M. E. Church, whose authority extended for several years to this region. But British sentiment was strong in the Colonies, especially after the coming of the Empire Loyalists (*see* p. 42), and a decided preference was expressed for ministers from England. The American Preachers gradually withdrew, and the conflict which long distracted Canadian Methodism (*see* pp. 44–46), did not arise here. In 1795 William Black figures in the Stations with the title of " General Assistant," instead of " Elder," or " Presiding Elder," in conformity with English usage ; in 1807 the chief of the District is designated " Chairman."

If Newfoundland was the first foreign District to contribute in money to the Missionary Society, Nova Scotia (with its dependencies of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Isle) had the honour of instituting the first Auxiliary of the Society outside of Great Britain. In the year 1817 more than £300 was collected for this object in the District—a noble first-fruit of filial gratitude.

Amongst colonial missionary pioneers, William Black takes high rank in respect of his native ability and force of character, his spiritual ardour, his apostolic labours and their abiding fruitfulness. The father of the Methodist Church of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, he was, in the worthiest sense, a " self-made " missionary. " The word of God came " to him, as to John in the wilderness and to the Hebrew prophets ; this constituted his original commission and equipment. Black's prodigal toil proved too great even for his stalwart frame ; by 1812 we find him a Supernumerary, at the age of fifty-two. Twenty years longer he lived in retirement at Halifax, ministering so far as strength allowed, an honoured adviser to his brethren and an object of reverence and love to the whole community.

Next to William Black in the Nova-Scotian annals ranks William Bennett, his successor as District Chairman and a man of like spirit and power. Still more distinguished was Matthew Richey, M.A., D.D., a Donegal Irishman, the scholar-preacher of Nova Scotia and the biographer of William Black ; he did conspicuous service in Canada in his later years (*see* pp. 135, 138).

The " Nova Scotia District " becomes " Nova Scotia and New Brunswick " in 1791. Until 1815 it included the " Newfoundland Circuit " ; Newfoundland was constituted a separate District when reporting less than 500 Church members ; for distance and

difficulties of travel cut off the island stations from the mainland. New Brunswick attained District independence, on the strength of its 850 members, in 1826, Prince Edward Island remaining with Nova Scotia.

The Canadas

Lower and Upper Canada—now the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario in the Canadian Dominion—have a distinct history. The French population of Lower Canada is devotedly Roman Catholic. In Upper Canada—a pervasively British region—our Church has long held a leading place.

The beginnings of Methodism in the two countries were simultaneous. The little Palatine colony, including Paul and Barbara Heck and Samuel Embury (Philip's son), crossed over during the War into British territory (*see* pp. 33, 34). After staying some years in Montreal, they finally settled (1785) in the township of Augusta in Upper Canada, where they formed a Methodist Society, in which Samuel Embury officiated as Class-leader and Local Preacher. This family holds the honour of starting Methodism both in New England and in Canada. At Augusta, Barbara Heck died, in 1804; her body lies in the burying ground of the "Old Blue Church," where her monument may be seen. The Loyalists who crossed the border in large numbers during and after the War, furnished the nucleus of the Upper Canadian and New Brunswick population; they contributed much to the early growth of Methodism in British North America (*comp.* p. 40).

The first Methodist Preacher in Quebec was a British commissariat officer of the name of Tuffey, who was posted in that city from 1780–84; but his work was not followed up—not till twenty years later did Methodism take root in Lower Canada.

In the Upper Province another Methodist soldier, Major George Neal—a man of Irish-American extraction, who had enlisted in British service and afterwards settled on the Canadian border near to Niagara—began to preach to his irreligious neighbours. He bore patiently much persecution, and prepared the way of the regular ministry on the south Ontarian shores. For half a century, until his death in the year 1840 at the age of ninety, Major Neal's house was a focus of Methodism. At the north-eastern corner of Lake Ontario, on the Bay of Quinte, in 1788 a Methodist schoolmaster named Lyons began to testify as an "exhorter," with notable success. In Ernestown near to Kingston, about the same time, one James M'Cart(h)y—an Irish immigrant, converted in the States—ministered to a group of Methodist families. After

two or three years of public work, he was arrested for unlicensed preaching, but released on bail; whereupon he was seized by a band of miscreants, conveyed down the river by night and made away with.

Proceeding in many directions from the various centres indicated, evangelical influences permeated a population rapidly increasing, but destitute of religious ordinances; in 1785 "there were but three or four Presbyterian ministers in the two Canadas, and perhaps as many Anglican clergy."

The M.E. Church of the States learning the needs of Canada, during the 'nineties reached out a helping hand. Among the American Preachers lent to Canada at this time were William Losee—a pioneer evangelist and founder of Circuits, greatly endeared to the people; Darius Dunham—lively in wit, scathing in reproof, sober in counsel, a man of commanding force; Calvin Wooster, a revivalist of the purest type; Nathan Bangs—strong, cultured, wise—who gave his youthful ministry to Canada, and rose to eminence later in his own Church. The intervention of the New York Conference* at this juncture was most timely. The English Methodists were in no position then to send Canada the needed help; it was but slowly that they came to the aid of their nearer brethren in the Eastern Provinces. The troubles which arose later between the British and American Conferences on this ground, should not efface the memory of the devoted men who nursed Canadian Methodism through its infancy; a large debt of gratitude is owing to our brethren of the United States on this account.

In 1805 a pair of notable Preachers from the States joined the Canadian Itinerancy. One of these was Henry Ryan—an Irishman, tall, athletic, full of courage and impulsive zeal, whose temperament during his closing years betrayed him into unhappy strife, ending in his separation from the Church he had served so well. His companion was William Case, of American birth—slight in build, gentle, sympathetic—who for over forty years was a trusted and beloved Church-leader of Canadian Methodism. These recruits introduced the American Camp Meeting—an innovation justified by its usefulness in the backwoods settlements.

After several attempts at Quebec and Montreal, Samuel Coate

* This was not the "General Conference" of the M. E. Church, which meets quadrennially in different cities, but one of the subordinate annual Conferences governing the several areas into which the territory of that Church is divided.

(1805–09), a preacher of singular charm and fervour—succeeded in planting Methodism in the latter city. From this time it made steady, though comparatively slow, progress through the Lower Province among the English-speaking colonists ; a chain of Churches was established reaching from Quebec to Ottawa.

The war of 1812–14, between the United States and England, dislocated our work in Lower Canada, and sharpened national prejudice throughout the country. Nathan Bangs, who had just been designated to Montreal as Presiding Elder for Lower Canada, was reclaimed by the States. Canadian preachers were pressed into service after the war ; amongst these was Thomas Harmon, an ex-soldier, who, it was said, " prayed like a saint and fought like a devil ! " That the war did not prove disastrous to Methodism, was largely due to the vigilant care and executive ability of Henry Ryan, then Presiding Elder of the Upper District. In 1815 William Case was set to preside over the Upper District, and Ryan transferred to the Lower. Skilfully they repaired the rents which war had made.

Until 1822 no definite attempts had been made by the Methodists of Canada to reach the aborigines, who were regarded as irreclaimably savage and hardly human. In that year a number of Red Men, who had unobserved crept for warmth into the room where a Methodist prayer-meeting was being held, were strangely converted ; this led to the evangelization of their tribe, settled near the Bay of Quinte. There was then living about fifty miles west of Hamilton a certain Welshman, Augustus Jones by name, holding the office of Provincial Surveyor, who had married an Indian wife. Their three children, Peter, Mary, and John, were brought to God under Methodist preaching and proved to be " chosen vessels " for His service. Acquainted with the native tongue, the sons began to preach to their mother's people, and did so with astonishing success. Peter Jones was taken into the ministry, and laboured long and fruitfully amongst the Indians. Case, the Presiding Elder of the District, furthered the work thus commenced with all his might ; in 1828 he was set apart as Superintendent of Indian Missions ; by the year 1829 he reported 2,000 conversions. William Case's name will ever be fragrant for his devotion to the salvation of the Red Indian people.

The resentment left behind by the war, and the constant influx of immigrants from the Old Country, stimulated the preference of the colonists for British ministrations, although this feeling was qualified in Upper Canada by regard for the

devoted ministers whom the M. E. Church had sent to Canada's help in her necessity. It was from Montreal that in 1814, when the Methodist pulpit was emptied by the war, the first application came from Canada to the London Mission House, which sent John B. Strong and Richard Williams—the latter from Nova Scotia—to occupy this city and Quebec. Elder Ryan, returning after the close of the struggle (1815), resented the intrusion. The coming of the English Preachers was to the American brethren a surprise and an embarrassment. There was abundant room for both parties, and the reinforcements were undoubtedly in request by the people ; but competition had not been avoided. The British authorities, probably assuming the retirement of the Americans to be permanent, appear not to have apprised the latter of their action nor sought an understanding with them. This led to unseemly strife. In 1820, however, a partition was arranged : Lower Canada was handed over to England, America retaining the Upper Province ; but " the arrangement gave no satisfaction to those whom it most concerned."

The growing Church of Upper Canada becoming restive under the government of the Genesee (American) Conference,* was allowed in 1824 to form a Conference of its own, within the M. E. Church. In 1828 the Province declared itself independent, and assumed the title of " The Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada," making William Case its " President." Since 1820 Lower Canada had been administered as a Missionary District under the British Conference.

The Missionary Committee in London, alive to the importance of Canada, was closely watching the course of events. Regarding the territorial agreement of 1820 as terminated by the separation of Upper Canada from the M. E. Church of the States, in 1832 it sent new missionaries to that Province. Fresh complications thus arose ; but the discussion of the matter took an amicable turn and led to a proposal of alliance with the Home Conference on the part of Canada, whose overtures were readily accepted. The union was consummated in 1833, when George Marsden was sent from England to preside over the Conference of " The Wesleyan Methodist Church of Upper Canada," which

* The Canadian Districts were originally attached to the New York Conference (*see* p. 43). But in 1810, when that Conference was divided, the western half taking the name of " Genesee," Upper Canada (divided now into Eastern and Western Districts) was assigned to the latter, while the Lower Canada District remained a part of the New York Conference, until it was surrendered to the British Conference in 1820.

dropped the adjective " Episcopal." In the same year Joseph Stinson began his eminent career as Superintendent of Missions, succeeding to the venerable William Case. The stricter British discipline excited discontent in some quarters ; but, on the whole, the union was effected with surprising ease. Through all these contentions and administrative changes the Methodism of Upper Canada continued to thrive ; in 1833 it numbered over 16,000 Church-members. Other conflicts awaited this much-tried Church ; the story will be resumed in Chapter XI.

Australia

Captain Cook's voyages (1770) first brought Australia—then known as " New Holland "—to the knowledge of Englishmen. The British flag was hoisted at Botany Bay on January 20th, 1788, by Governor Phillip, who forestalled the French by six days ! Phillip brought with him several ship-loads of convicts —the first colonists of this great country. Since the War of Independence the American shores had been closed to such importations ; and Botany Bay was selected as the dumping-ground for Britain's human refuse.

At the instance of William Wilberforce, the New South Wales settlement was furnished with clergy ; and in 1800 Samuel Marsden became the Senior Chaplain. He was of Methodist antecedents—" a little, merry, bustling clergyman," who was earnestly concerned for the welfare of his ' black sheep.' In answer to his request for a schoolmaster to teach the convicts' children, Thomas Bowden was appointed, recently master of the Charity School of Great Queen Street, London, and a Methodist Class-leader. Six months after his arrival Bowden reports three Classes meeting regularly (July 1812), two in Sydney and one at Windsor, thirty-four miles distant. In 1814 Bowden and his fellow-leader write to the Conference for a minister—who, they say, will be well received by the Governor and Chaplains, provided he is not antagonistic to " the Church " ; they propose to invest money in cattle for his maintenance. Samuel Leigh received the appointment, a Preacher of Staffordshire birth, with a record for enthusiastic zeal.

Leigh reached Sydney in August, 1815, and was heartily welcomed. He writes : " There is every encouragement we can expect from the state of the Colony. The people are very hospitable." It was now twenty-seven years since British rule had been established ; other colonists beside the transported criminals

had entered the country, and many of these latter had become respectable citizens. The country began to be peopled and cultivated. Leigh formed a Circuit extending for 150 miles, with fifteen preaching-places, which he travelled on horseback in a three weeks' round. In social work and care for the poor Leigh was eminently useful, laying the foundations of organized charity in Sydney. Amongst his best friends was John Lees, a retired soldier occupying a lonely inland farm, who greeted him with the exclamation, "We have been praying for a missionary for three years!" By the autumn of 1817 Lees had built, at the neighbouring town of Castlereagh, the first Methodist Chapel erected in Australasia,—a plain weatherboard structure, but suited to the wants of the people. Eighteen months later a second chapel—this time of stone—was opened in Sydney, the gift of another liberal-hearted soldier, Sergeant James Scott.

A year or so after this Leigh was joined by Walter Lawry, a young Cornishman, of whom more hereafter (*see* pp. 100, 149). His coming gave Leigh the opportunity to visit New Zealand and make acquaintance with the Maoris. Before long Leigh's health compelled a return to England, where he produced a deep impression by his appeals for the South Sea Islanders. He proposed himself to go to New Zealand. At the same time he pleaded for missions to the convicts in Tasmania (then known as Van Diemen's Land), and to the aborigines. His requests were granted: Leigh was appointed to New Zealand in 1820, Lawry to the Friendly Islands, and three new men were allotted to the Colonies.

At Hobart Town (Van Diemen's Land) Corporal George Waddy, Local Preacher and Class-leader, had already broken ground for Methodism, braving riotous opposition. Removed to Macquarie Harbour, the penal station for incorrigible convicts—a veritable "hell upon earth"—Waddy gathered a Class-meeting about him, and opened the door for the missionary's coming. In all quarters of the world at this time Methodist soldiers were the forerunners of their Church.

Benjamin Carvosso had been the first to preach in Van Diemen's Land (April, 1820); he spent the latter half of his ten years of missionary service on this island, where his labours were greatly blessed. Carvosso's name stands beside those of Leigh and Lawry amongst the fathers of Australian Methodism.

On the whole, however, for the first twenty years the Australian Mission was disappointing. In 1833 there were but 111 Church-members on the mainland, and 157 in Tasmania. It

was a time of wintry sowing, under a dull sky. The following twenty years brought the ingathering. The missionary staff, during the previous period, was severely handicapped. Leigh removed to New Zealand in 1822; Lawry, a little later, commenced his work in the Friendly Islands. Leigh's strength, already impaired, was broken by the hardships of his Maori sojourn; he resumed his labour in the Colony so far as health permitted, but in 1831 he returned finally to England. Some of the newer appointments to this field did not prove happy; censures and resignations followed. The best men were burdened by the excessive cost of living in the Colony, for which the Home authorities scarcely made sufficient allowance. A controversy arose about the holding of Methodist services within Church hours, in which Leigh, whose conservative feeling on the subject was strengthened by his friendly intercourse with the clergy, though supported by the Committee in England, was at issue with his colleagues. The relations between the local staff and the Mission House were seriously strained, to the hindrance of the work of God.

The Mission to the Aborigines—an undertaking of enormous difficulty—was never properly equipped, and does not seem to have been carried on with the necessary method and perseverance. The experiment made in New South Wales was abandoned, after a few years of hardly sufficient trial (*comp.* pp. 95, 143, 145).

CHAPTER V

The West Indies: Emancipation, and After

In the West Indies Methodism first sought the salvation of the heathen. The spiritual condition of the negroes in these islands had been little improved by contact with nominally Christian masters; indeed, slavery and European vice had degraded them morally below the level of their fetish-worshipping African kindred. The Established clergy were few in number, and often careless of their black parishioners. Notwithstanding, rudimentary Christian facts and ideas had by this time filtered into the mind of the West Indian negro, producing a certain preparation for the Gospel. The Moravians preceded Methodism, and had

laboured on several of the islands with wonderful success, creating widespread expectations of coming good.

As the end of the eighteenth century approached, the agitation in England against slavery, which resulted in the abolition of the slave-trade in 1807 and in the Act of Emancipation of 1833, excited a general sympathy for efforts to relieve the misery of the West Indian negroes, to whom as victims of British cupidity it was felt that a great reparation was owing. The time was ripe for missionary action. In no other region has our work been so complicated with social and civil difficulties; in none have Methodist missionaries undergone so many sufferings, from the combined effects of climate and persecution. Nowhere has our foreign field presented a more moving scene of adventure and vicissitude, of pathos and romance. We must compress into a chapter a story which demands an ample volume.

Here, as in other Colonies, the lay pioneer preceded the authorised missionary. In 1758 John Wesley preached at Wandsworth in the house of a certain Nathaniel Gilbert, a planter of Antigua,* and later Speaker of the Island House of Assembly, who had visited England seeking his acquaintance. This gentleman brought with him two negro servants, whom Wesley on that occasion baptized; the latter refers to one of these as "the first African Christian I have known. But shall not our Lord," he asks, "in due time have these heathen also for His inheritance?" Gilbert returned home in 1760 charged with evangelical zeal, and commenced preaching Christ to the slaves upon his own and the neighbouring estates. Before his death (in 1774) he had raised up a Methodist Society, of white and coloured people, including 200 souls. Nathaniel was assisted by his brother Francis, who writes to Wesley in 1773: "So great is our success, that at present almost the whole island seems stirred up to seek the Lord." After his brother died, Francis appears to have left the country; Baxter on his arrival in 1778 found the Methodist flock unshepherded. The Society had been held together in some fashion by slave-women, who conducted the Classes and prayer-meetings and acted as "exhorters" among the coloured people.

John Baxter—a Chatham shipwright and a Methodist Local Preacher—accepted a Government appointment to Antigua with the hope of serving the Gospel. He was an energetic,

* Antigua is situated near the centre of the Leeward group of the West Indian Islands. Its population at that time was about 40,000, 3,000 of whom were British, and the rest coloured people, mostly slaves.

sensible, and devoted man; his coming proved most timely. After a year's labour, he reports the negroes to Wesley as "ripe for the Gospel: 600 have joined the Society; . . . many come seven or ten miles bare-foot to meet their Classes." In 1782 he writes again, showing that he possessed caution as well as enthusiasm: "We are much in want of Leaders. . . . Being ignorant of the word of God, the negroes run into many superstitions. . . . The work cannot be said to be deep in any, but it is visible in multitudes. There is a great outward reformation among them, and a desire to be thought religious." Concerning himself he adds: "I find it hard to flesh and blood to work all day, and then ride ten miles at night to preach." In the course of the next year Baxter built a large chapel for his congregation in St. John, the capital of the island; and Coke found there a Society of 1,800 members.*

The landing of Dr. Coke in Antigua, on Christmas-day, 1786, crowned the course of providences above related. Coke had sailed in the previous autumn upon his second voyage to America (*see* p. 19), in a vessel bound for Halifax (N. S.). Three young Preachers accompanied him—William Hammet(t), John Clarke, and William Warrener; the two former he was instructed to leave in Nova Scotia, while the third (sent in answer to Baxter's appeal) was to be forwarded to Antigua. A succession of fierce gales crippled the ship, and drove her from her course to the very spot in the western seas where the Methodist voyagers were most needed at this moment. Dr. Coke's coming was joyfully hailed by all classes of the population.

The Mission had a course of almost unbroken prosperity in this island for fifty years onwards, overshadowed by one tragic calamity,—the loss of its entire staff through the wreck of the *Maria* mailboat in the year 1826. Within a generation Methodism became practically the "Established Church." The labours of the Gilberts and Baxter at the beginning had overcome persecution and earned the respect of the white people, a comparatively large number of whom assisted in the Society; "the Gilberts were followed by a succession of worthies of which any Church might be proud." The happy effect of Christian teaching on the slaves became early manifest, and missionary schools were liberally aided by the proprietors. Good feeling between the races was here unusually prevalent. So well had the negroes

* The Moravians, according to Coke's report, had at this time a Society in Antigua of similar size. The adherents of the two communions included nearly a third of the people.

been prepared for liberty, that the Antiguan Legislature at the Emancipation of 1833–34 petitioned for the cutting short of their apprenticeship, confessing that it "cannot discover any sufficient reason referrible to this island," against "an unrestricted Emancipation," in view of "the state of religious and social improvement to which" the slaves "of Antigua have already reached." Could there be desired for missionary work at the end of two generations, a better certificate? By the year 1833 there were close upon 3,000 Methodist Church-members in Antigua—a sixth of them English people.

Leaving Warrener in charge at Antigua, Dr. Coke and his remaining companions set out on a month's voyage of exploration, in which he visited successively Dominica (in the south Leeward Isles), St. Vincent (in the Windwards), St. Kitt's (*or* Christopher's; amongst the Leewards, W. by N. of Antigua), Nevis and St. Eustatius (both adjacent to St. Kitt's). In St. Vincent and St. Kitt's open doors for the Gospel were found; and Clarke and Hammett were planted there as missionaries, Nova Scotia being thus robbed (*see* pp. 19, 40) to do the West Indies service. The welcomers of Coke in both islands owed their conversion, directly or indirectly, to Gilbert's preaching in Antigua. In February 1787 Dr. Coke sailed from St. Eustatius for Charleston in S. Carolina, to discharge his errand to the Methodist Episcopal Church. In seven weeks he had personally set on foot the evangelization of half a dozen West Indian islands.

St. Vincent—that "romantic and lovely isle, with its simple-hearted, loving people"—has borne out its early promise. Clarke's ministry was so successful that Baxter, who had given up his carpentry for the Gospel, came over from Antigua to assist him. Dr. Coke found Baxter here on his second tour in 1788, and persuaded him to attempt the evangelization of the remnant of the Caribbean aborigines, then living in savagery in the south-west of the island. Baxter and his wife settled amongst the Caribs, and learnt their language; but after two years he abandoned as hopeless a task for which, probably, he was but ill-furnished. This unhappy people rose in repeated rebellion; the bulk of them had been already deported to the Honduras mainland (*see* p. 58).

The St. Vincent planters, not being prepossessed in the missionaries' favour like those of Antigua, took alarm at the conversion of the negroes. Here persecution began, in 1791–93. Robert Gamble and Matthew Lumb, who came out with Coke on his second visit (1788–89) and whom he stationed in this

island, were the sufferers. The former was waylaid by a band of white ruffians and so cruelly beaten that in a few days he expired (1791)—the first on Methodism's roll of missionary martyrs. His companion was thrown into prison, under a statute passed by the St. Vincent Legislature to suppress sectarian preaching, which was disallowed by the King's Government in 1793, upon Dr. Coke's representations. Meanwhile Lumb remained in gaol, and was shamefully used. He survived, to do good service for many years abroad and at home. The work of God went forward in St. Vincent, in spite of the slave-owners; before long the Society numbered 2,500 members, nearly all coloured people.

The causes of the West Indian hostility to the Mission appear in the "recommendation" drawn up by the St. Vincent Council in 1816, which ran thus: "Dissenting preachers, of every denomination, should in future not be allowed to preach . . . until they had entered into securities, themselves in £400 and two freeholders in the like sum each, that no doctrines or opinions shall be inculcated or circulated by them unfriendly to the system of government, or inconsistent with the duties slaves owe to their masters; and that every such preacher shall farther take a solemn oath . . . deposing he has no connexion, and holds nor will hold, any correspondence . . . with any self-created society, or any other unauthorised set of men in England, who either directly or indirectly have or shall attempt to interfere in the relations between master and slave in these colonies." The proprietors regarded "dissenting preachers" as secret agents of the Liberationists in England, and suspected them of imbuing the slaves, under cover of religion, with principles subversive of the established order.

The St. Vincent Mission, however, lived down governmental prejudice. In 1819 St. Vincent became the head of a separate Missionary District, including the Windward Islands along with Demerara. The Emancipation, not completed here until 1838, was attended with spiritual blessing: "the population generally" was "impressed with the idea that being now free, they were in duty bound to serve the Lord. . . . A genuine revival of religion was experienced among all classes." At this date the two St. Vincent Circuits had reached a membership considerably above 8,000.

St. Kitt's and Nevis are small and closely adjacent islands amongst the Leewards. Methodism ran a similar course in each. In both at the outset the Mission secured allies amongst the

planters—the cousins Nesbitt were the "Gilberts" of Nevis—and the clergy were comparatively friendly. Of St. Kitt's Coke said, at his last visit in 1793, "We took leave of this happy island, in which genuine religion flourishes like an olive-tree in the house of God"; on the whole, his description held good for later years. Nevis underwent greater vicissitudes—amongst these a violent persecution about the end of the century, and a French occupation in 1805—both events interrupting Methodist work. In 1833 our people numbered 3,000 in St. Kitt's and over 800 in Nevis, of whom three-fourths were slaves.

At Dominica—a large southern Leeward island—Coke touched twice on his first West Indian round (*see* p. 51), preaching and making personal friends. The island was occupied in 1788 by William M'Cornock, another eager Irish volunteer ("the sword was too keen for the scabbard," says Coke), who fell in a few months a victim to the unwholesome climate—the first Wesleyan missionary to die on the West Indian field. "A mulatto gentlewoman," Mrs. Webley, formerly resident in Antigua, was Dr. Coke's hostess and a chief helper of Methodism here; Dominica was distinguished by its large number of educated and well-to-do coloured people. M'Cornock's vacant place was not filled until 1794. The melancholy story of a young missionary snatched away by death and leaving his flock untended was again and again repeated in Dominica. The French invasion of 1805, and in later years hurricane and earthquake, made havoc of the island. A powerful Roman Catholicism added to the difficulties with which the mission had to contend. But the ground was never abandoned. St. Rupert's, the unhealthiest spot in the island, witnessed glorious scenes of revival.

Dominica enjoyed the labours of some of our most distinguished men, amongst whom was the late revered John Burton (1826–27), who writes at this time: "The mind hangs confounded between astonishment and gratitude while attempting to estimate the moral effects which have been manifested . . . in this part of Dominica. The liar speaks the truth to his neighbour; the swearer has stilled his cursing tongue; the adulterer has ceased to frequent the filthy haunts of his midnight crime. Obeahism [the West Indian form of African superstition], by which many were in bondage to the most frightful and ghastly apprehensions, has been subverted by truth; its hold on the imagination has been destroyed, its existence as a demon-charm annihilated,—in many instances its very name is now only accompanied with disgust and hate." These words

powerfully describe the success which the missionaries achieved amongst the debased West Indian negroes, on the strength of which our Mission swiftly advanced throughout the archipelago in face of an insidiously dangerous climate, and of human opposition in many quarters only less relentless. In the Emancipation year Dominica reported a membership of nearly a thousand—one-third of them free people.

St. Eustatius, situated amongst the Leewards near St. Kitt's—a tiny island, important from its trade and great fertility—had frequently changed hands, but belonged then as now to Holland. This was the last island that Coke visited on his first voyage. He was invited by a company of negroes who had been gathered into Society by Black Harry, a slave converted in the United States and afterwards sold into St. Eustatius, who deserves to rank amongst the heroes of early Methodism. Finding his fellow countrymen in an abandoned condition, Black Harry had preached to them, with awakening effect. The Dutch Governor at first approved his work, but took alarm at the excitement attending it, and resolved on its suppression. Harry was not silenced by flogging, and had just been thrown into prison when Dr. Coke arrived. The Governor refused the latter permission to preach, and finally ordered his removal from the island ; Coke was again prohibited on a later visit, in 1790. Even the negro prayer-meetings were forbidden ; and Black Harry, proving incorrigible, was deported, by sale, to the United States, where Dr. Coke met him some years later pursuing his work for Christ. On his return to Europe, Coke spent many weeks in vain attempts to persuade the Government of Holland to grant religious toleration to the Methodists of St. Eustatius. But the light kindled by Black Harry was not put out. The little Methodist negro band—some of them free, some in slavery—continued to read their Bibles and to meet secretly for prayer ; occasionally, at much risk, they were visited from other islands. At last their patience was rewarded : the embargo on Methodism was removed in 1811, and the first missionary, Myles C. Dixon, arrived. The temper of the Government was so changed that it offered now to subsidise the Mission. Methodism became the leading Church of St. Eustatius, winning the support of all classes of the community.

On his second voyage (1788–89) Coke made for Barbados (Windward Isles), where he stationed one of his companions, Benjamin Pearce (for the other two, *see* p. 51). This flourishing island, with its large English population and its scores of thousands

of slaves, proved one of our most trying fields. A negro insurrection in 1816 terrified the whites of this and neighbouring islands. In 1823 the anger of the gentry was rekindled by the news of the rebellion in Demerara. The white mob rose against the Methodists, demolishing the Bridgetown Chapel and compelling the resident missionary, the noble William J. Shrewsbury (*comp.* p. 89), to flee for his life. The Bridgetown riot excited attention in England, and became the subject of Parliamentary discussion. Public opinion was brought to bear on the action of the local authorities, and the British Government bridled their persecuting rage. But the atmosphere of Barbados for long remained bitterly adverse to missionary effort; in 1833 our membership was still below 400 in number, of whom no more than 116 were slaves (*comp.* p. 64).

The seven islands brought into view, at which Dr. Coke touched, furnish specimens of the fields tilled and the fruit gathered from the time of Coke's planting the Gospel-seed in the West Indian Islands up to the epoch of Emancipation. The infant West Indian Churches, like that of Thessalonica, "received the word amid much affliction, with joy of the Holy Ghost"; and their devoted missionaries "were well-pleased to impart to them not the gospel of God only, but also their own lives."

For the Circuits that follow, we must content ourselves with little more than the enumeration of names and dates, which will at least suffice to show how "mightily grew the work of God and prevailed amongst them."

Tortola (in the Leeward Islands) was visited by Coke in 1788–89, who removed Hammett thither from St. Kitt's (*see* p. 51). The "abundant entrance" in this island was followed for a while by declension. With Tortola went the rest of the Virgin Islands; the whole group was thoroughly missioned. A signal tribute was paid to the character of the Methodist converts of Tortola and the Virgin Islands in the fact that, when a French invasion was in prospect, the Governor armed the whole body of the black people, including the slaves, with the missionary at their head, and the danger was thus averted.

St. Thomas (Danish) was early visited from Tortola. Although no missionary was allowed to settle, through fear of British influence, a small Society was formed, which for long was held together by two coloured women-leaders. In St. Bart's (Bartholomew's, Swedish), we had a missionary from 1796 onwards. The Governor was friendly; but the island was unprosperous, and the Society

never flourished. In Anguilla and St. Martin's (French and Dutch)—small and comparatively poor islands—Methodism was started by John Hodge, a coloured preacher of much usefulness, who was admitted to the ministry. Hodge commenced his work in 1813 in Anguilla, which had previously been without Christian worship for twenty years, and continued it in St. Martin's. The Montserrat mission was started in 1820. While the climate is delightful, the people of Montserrat were poor and struggling; though retarded by Roman Catholic opposition, progress was on the whole steady and gratifying in this island.

Grenada, Trinidad, and Tobago are the additional Windward Isles occupied by the Wesleyan Mission before 1833. The parish minister of Grenada had come under Coke's influence in Barbados, and invited Methodist preaching. Here, as in some other cases, Methodism was in the first instance self-sown from Antigua. A Class was found already in existence, under coloured leadership, when the first missionary came. The population was bilingual (French and English), but under British rule. The saintly Abraham J. Bishop, a Jersey man who had been extraordinarily useful in New Brunswick, was moved to Grenada, where a French preacher was required; but he died in a few months. Subsequent appointments were unfortunate or interrupted, and the work made little headway till about 1818. Meanwhile, the parish clerk, Francis Hallett (afterwards enlisted in the ministry), acted as exhorter and kept the Society alive. Grenada has the distinction of raising the first regular Local Preachers in West Indian Methodism. The proprietors of Grenada were generally favourable to the Gospel, but the negroes were singularly apathetic previously to emancipation. In Grenada we counted a membership of only 459 by the year 1833.

The Trinidad work commenced about 1810; its progress was chequered by persecution, due chiefly to the prevalence of Romanism, which had been established in the island during the previous Spanish occupation. Here also the expansion of Methodism followed emancipation. Jonathan Raynar entered Tobago in 1818; good progress had been made on this island by the date of the Emancipation.

Demerara (British Guiana) was attached to the St. Vincent District. Two freemen of colour, named Claxton and Powell, who had been converted under Coke's ministry in Nevis, began to work for God here in 1802. They had much success in spite of persecution, and gathered Classes around them; in 1814 Thomas Talboys was sent to their help. The London Missionary

Society had been at work for many years in this Colony, and had borne the brunt of Government oppression, which now began to relax. But mob-violence rose to a furious height in Georgetown, inflamed by the pamphlets written in England in denunciation of West Indian Missions (to which Richard Watson made a masterly reply). In 1817 John Mortier succeeded Talboys, and remained at the head of the Demerara Mission until 1844 ; gradually he disarmed suspicion, and raised the work to a state of prosperity. The Church passed unscathed through the slave-rebellion of 1823 ; ten years later its membership amounted to 2,000, nine-tenths of these being slaves. Such had been the success of the L.M.S. and W.M.M.S. in Demerara, that when after the liberation the B. and F. B. Society offered a Bible to every freed slave who could read, 10,000 copies were required.

William Turton, the second man of negro blood enlisted in the Wesleyan Ministry (*comp.* p. 56) and a son of the Mission, was the Methodist apostle of the Bahamas ; he was sent thither by Coke in 1800. Earlier attempts had been made on the islands (in 1794–96), through preachers commissioned from Charleston (U.S.A.) by Hammett, Coke's assistant (*see* pp. 55, 58), who after doing good work for Methodism in the West Indies had withdrawn and formed an Independent congregation in that city. The work of Hammett's agents left some sound fruit, and supplied a nucleus for subsequent labours. Turton " laid the foundation of a work of God which, considering the rapidity and extent to which it spread, and its wonderful result, has but few parallels : " so writes one of his successors. He died in 1817, worn out with toil. Before this time the Bahamas had become a separate District, under Turton's Chairmanship. In 1833 its membership was 1799 in number, including less than 400 slaves.

After a first defeated attempt in 1789–90, a lodgment was effected on Bermuda in 1809 ; the missionary was now " caressed," it is said, " by the former persecutors." The island was attached to the Bahamas District, and shared in its prosperity. Edward Fraser, the third coloured West Indian to enter the Wesleyan ministry and a man of striking ability, born in slavery, came from Bermuda. Fraser's eloquence, which was compared to that of Robert Newton, greatly aided the Society on his visit to England. (For the later history of Bermudan Methodism, *see* p. 134).

The negro republican State of Haiti was a product of the French Revolution. Our Mission has shared in its convulsive history. In 1807 Dr. Coke sent two missionaries to Haiti, with

the sanction of President Pétion, which had been secured by the influence of a Methodist sea-captain. Next year the missionaries were expelled, through Romanist bigotry, on Pétion's death. A considerable Society had however been gathered, which was now exposed to a storm of persecution little short of murderous. Again the Class-meeting saved the Church. "The Society always keeps together," writes one of the sufferers, "by two or three members. The greater part are like birds perched on boughs which are violently shaken by the winds." Amongst these indomitable French-negro Methodists was a Leader named St. Denis Bauduy—a man of lovely character; he was brought over to England for training, and appears in the Stations of 1827 as Assistant Missionary at Port-au-Prince, where a Society of ninety members then existed. Not till 1834 was it possible to settle an English minister in Haiti (*see* p. 64). No Methodist Church has been more thoroughly tried in the "furnace of affliction" than the Haitian. French-speaking preachers were required for this field; hence its reinforcements were repeatedly drawn from the Channel Islands.

The Honduras Mission was a continental adjunct to the Jamaica District (described below), as that of Demerara to the St. Vincent District. Here again Methodism preceded the missionary. A self-sown Society existed there in 1825, which appealed for pastoral care, pointing out the favourable opening presented for missionary work. Though two promising young missionaries, Thomas Wilkinson and Thomas Johnson, died in succession after a few months of labour, the work became well-established in the town of Belize and along the river of that name (in the British Colony), also on the Mosquito Coast (in Spanish territory), before 1833. Beside the white population (chiefly engaged in the mahogany trade), and negro slaves (who came under the Act of Emancipation), the Caribs deported from St. Vincent were met with on this coast (*see* p. 51); their evangelization was attempted, but with melancholy unsuccess.

Jamaica is the jewel of the British Crown in the Caribbean Sea. Dr. Coke visited the island three times between 1789 and 1793, surveying the principal parts of it. Hammett, the pioneer of St. Kitt's and Tortola successively (*see* pp. 51, 55), began our work at Kingston in August, 1789, where Methodism took deep root. William Fish, who laboured here from 1792–1805, was the most vigorous of the early Jamaican missionaries; repeatedly he "held the fort" alone, when his colleagues had died or were disabled.

Had tarred and feathered him, and would have set him alight, had not his wife dashed the candle from the ruffian's hand.

Jamaica was for Methodism a constant battle-field. Coke himself was assaulted; and in one part or other of the island persecution was continuous up till the time of emancipation. Kingston was the principal scene of the struggle for thirty years; later it raged in the country districts, where the planters were exasperated by the Abolition movement in England, of which they regarded the Missionaries as accomplices. Again and again preachers were silenced, and imprisoned in filthy gaols; Methodist slaves were flogged unmercifully; chapels were closed; every resource of local administration was brought into play to obstruct preaching to the negroes and the formation of Societies amongst them. In 1803, and again in 1806, the Jamaican House of Assembly passed laws for the suppression of "sectarian" worship, which had to be vetoed by the Crown; but for its protection Methodism would have been stamped out like a pestilence. The sensitiveness of Colonial feeling is shown by the fact that the magistrates of Morant Bay construed the text which happened, in a certain Quarter, to be printed on the ticket of Church-membership, as an incentive to sedition: "The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force!"

After the insurrection of 1831—occasioned by the rumour amongst the slaves that the King had granted them liberty, which their masters were withholding — the proprietary classes in the north of the island formed a "Colonial Church Union," with the avowed design of extirpating Nonconformity. They proceeded to wholesale chapel-demolition and personal outrage. This movement was however stopped by the local Government.* At the same time our Church had nowhere heartier friends amongst merchants and planters than in Jamaica. At Kingston public opinion was won over, by the years 1820–21, to such a degree that the leading town's-people contributed to the building of our great Wesley Chapel; "all parties vied with each other in pushing it forward."

* Not before a party of Church Unionists, including several magistrates, had seized Henry Bleby, a young missionary just arrived at Falmouth, had tarred and feathered him, and would have set him alight, had not his wife dashed the candle from the ruffian's hand. She was knocked down, and the five months' babe she was carrying was about to be thrown out of the window, when rescue arrived. At St. Ann's Bay the Church Union rabble, after demolishing the Baptist and Wesleyan Chapels, finding the ministers escaped, hanged them in effigy in the street, with a picture of Satan above the figures and the legend in his mouth: "These are my beloved, in whom I am well pleased!"

The Missionary Committee recognised in Jamaica the key to the position in the West Indies, and made strong efforts to man its stations and to surmount the heavy recurrent casualties. Sickness and death decimated the staff; and embarrassing cases of discipline arose. In 1824 a group of the Missionaries, who had associated with some of the better sort of slave-owners, published a resolution declaring "that Christianity does not interfere with the civil condition of slaves, as slavery is established in the British West Indies," which gave just offence at home. A circular was drawn up by Secretary Watson stating the policy of the Committee toward slavery and censuring the missionaries concerned. The action of the signatories was quite exceptional; it was known that Methodism was ardently abolitionist; its missionaries were the trusted friends of the slaves, and had given damaging testimony against the system of bondage. At the same time, they obeyed the strict instructions of the Mission House to avoid inflammatory speech, to live peaceably with all men, and to teach the slaves obedience and patience. Under their tuition, Methodist slaves were notably diligent, tractable and law-abiding, as candid proprietors bore witness; and their value to their masters was enhanced. Seldom was a Methodist negro found implicated in disorder; in not a few instances the masters and their families owed their lives to the fidelity of their converted bondmen.

For all this, prejudice and slander increased as emancipation approached; the slave-holding gentry were seized with a blind fury, of which the missionaries became the mark. But the institution was doomed on which their power was built. Genuine Christianity and serfdom could not co-exist. As the negroes improved in character and became chaste, sober, well-conducted, their servile condition appeared more and more shocking and weighed on the conscience of the British people. However peaceable their behaviour, the ministers of the Gospel were, in effect, the deadly enemies of the institution on which English society rested in the West Indies, and on which it was likely to be based in all tropical colonies if it could be upheld in this instance. Missionary work rendered its continuance impossible—on the one hand by its redemptive effect on the slaves, on the other hand by its reaction on British public opinion.

The fifty years' labour of our Church in this distressful field had a signal and pathetic reward in the scenes which attended the proclamation of Freedom on August 1st, 1834. Fears of riot and bloodshed were prevalent; the police and military of

the islands were held in readiness. But churches and chapels were opened everywhere for midnight worship; the negroes flocked to them, and in deep solemnity, with tears and sobs of thanksgiving, poured out their souls to God. No great social revolution was ever brought about with less of civil disturbance, and with more of pure happiness and gratitude. For the Gospel had made multitudes of the slaves already Christ's freemen, and had formed in them a new heart and a right spirit (*comp.* p. 84).

By this time the Methodist membership was 13,000 strong in Jamaica, having grown steadily through all the troubles. Three-fourths of this number were slaves.

The Jamaica District was formed in 1816, and in 1833 contained fifteen Circuits, including the two of Honduras.

Our total Church-constituency throughout the islands was about 32,000, of whom more than two-thirds had been gathered from slavery.

Emancipation was followed by "some years of special blessing" for West Indian Methodism; the negro people pressed into the Church. Despite liberal reinforcements sent from England, a number of the missionaries were disabled by the excessive toil brought upon them by success. *Education* was the necessity of the hour: this was largely provided in its elementary form; but the higher schooling needed to furnish a competent native ministry and a responsible laity was not forthcoming. Later troubles were largely due to this defect, which even now is poorly supplied.

Straitened in its funds at home and turning to new fields abroad, the Missionary Society grew impatient with the West Indies, just at the time when improved educational plant and increased pastoral care were necessary in order to raise the liberated negro to a Christian manhood. Expenditure on the West Indian Districts was severely cut down: the eldest children of the Missionary Society had reached the age, surely, to shift for themselves! The parent Church, in reckoning thus, allowed too little for the lingering effect of generations of servitude: "The calling of Missionary Societies," wrote Secretary Beecham in 1853, "is to plant Churches among the heathen and, having nourished them to a certain degree of maturity, then to leave them to provide for themselves." A sound general doctrine, but bearing cruelly on a Church of enfranchised slaves; the *maturity* was wanting, and pupilage must still continue.

Emancipation, moreover, unhinged the economic system of the

islands. The former slave-holders could ill adapt themselves to changed conditions. The former slaves, hating the old plantation and factory-life, scattered through the country, squatting on patches of land where they made a bare subsistence, or crowded into town-employments for which they were unsuited. The adoption of free-trade by England completed the ruin of the sugar-planters. The staple industry of the islands was crippled; where it survived, it was carried on by indentured labour imported from Africa or India. Commercial depression was extreme, and the poverty of the negroes almost universal. Deep discouragement settled upon the Methodist Societies, hardly relieved for many years. "A long succession of unfavourable causes," says the Report of 1866, "has operated, sometimes locally, sometimes generally, to frustrate the plans of the Committee, check the efforts of the people, and repress the energies of the missionaries. . . . A great and good work is still carried on, but it cannot be said to flourish as in former days. A generation has grown up in freedom, never knowing the oppressions and sorrows under which their fathers groaned: it is more sorrowful than surprising that some of them should neither prize the ordinances of religion as their fathers did, nor be willing to support them out of their little means as their fathers were."

The insurrection of the Jamaican blacks in 1865 demonstrated the existence of bitter discontent, and of a savage element in the community, for which freedom had proved an empty boon. The great majority of the Methodists remained loyal: "No man," they said, "shall turn us from that Government which has made us free men." The results of this rising, and of the drastic measures taken to suppress it, were calamitous for our work; "this internecine warfare," writes one missionary, "increases the load which we before thought as much as we could bear." A Presbyterian minister, writing in 1867, accurately sums up the situation in Jamaica, when he reports more than half the population as still practically heathen; "the good that has been done," he adds, "is palpable in the pure and blameless lives of thousands who have been redeemed from vice and ignorance through the instrumentality of missions. But beyond the pale of this holy, life-giving influence there are thefts and robberies, drunkenness, vice, and crime." Jamaican society lacked the stability given by an intelligent, industrious middle class, which was slow to develop out of a population of freed slaves.

At length the long-ebbing tide began to turn. In 1869, for the first time in many years, a numerical increase was reported in

the Methodist membership. The thoughts of the Missionary Committee were directed to higher education and the training of a native ministry. In 1878 a High School for Boys was opened at York Castle, in Jamaica, with a small Theological Department attached to it. Grants from the Jubilee Fund (1863) reduced the crushing burdens resting upon Church property. The people responded to the stimulus, and surpassed their own high record of liberality.

The improvement continuing through the 'seventies, and the revived hopefulness abroad in the West Indian Churches, prompted thoughts of independence. Early in the 'eighties a movement was set on foot for the formation of a Triennial West Indian Conference, modelled upon those of other colonies, with subordinate (Western and Eastern) Annual Conferences, including all the Districts of this region except those of Honduras and the Bahamas, for which the care of the Missionary Society was indispensable. The first General Conference met in 1884 under the Presidency of George Sargeant, a man of spiritual power, administrative gifts, and gracious temper, who had stood by the West Indian Mission through its years of disenchantment.

The experiment of West Indian autonomy, bravely commenced, proved to be premature. The causes of failure have been already indicated. Responsible lay-leaders, qualified to take their part in Circuit and Connexional affairs, were few and far between. To this defect, and to the continued poverty of the bulk of the people, was due the inability which the Church showed to bear its administrative burdens and to rear an adequate local ministry. Beside these internal difficulties, during the twenty years of independence the islands were visited with one disaster after another —hurricane and earthquake, drought and flood, cholera and yellow fever—until the faith of the most sanguine was daunted. The Churches were overwhelmed with debt, contracted in the restoration of Church-property; despite the endeavours of a willing people, widespread Circuit bankruptcy was imminent. In the paucity of qualified lay-officers, the temporal cares of the Church rested with intolerable weight on the shoulders of the ministry. The British Conference was compelled to come to the rescue, and in 1905 the West Indian Districts put themselves again under the tutelage of the Missionary Committee. The people, however, are still with us; the prospects of the islands are brightening; and there has been a considerable increase of Church-membership, and an improvement in local contributions, since the transference.

New missions were opened in this province during the period last reviewed. The Jamaica District followed its Methodist emigrants to Panama, and to Costa Rica, on the mainland, in the course of the 'eighties. In both Republics the work has spread, and considerable Churches have been raised up. Turk's Island was similarly occupied at an earlier date.

Haitian Methodism (*see* p. 57) began to thrive about the time of the Emancipation. Following John Tindall (1834–37), who entered into the labours of St. Denis Bauduy (*see* p. 58) and laid good foundations for the future, Mark B. Bird for forty years built up the Church amid the constant peril and distraction attending the instability of civil affairs in the Black Republic. Mr. Bird's name became revered throughout the island (it is commemorated in the *Bird College* at Port-au-Prince), and Methodism won the respect of its worst opponents. At the present time, leading men of government and professional rank are amongst our Local Preachers and Church-officers. For many years Methodism has worked, with varying success, in Santo Domingo, the Spanish half of the same island.

The work of the Honduras District has pursued much the same course, amid the same difficulties, as in its earlier years (*see* p. 58), making slow but continuous progress.

In the Bahamas District, and amongst the smaller islands generally, the course of events during the years following Emancipation resembled that noted in the case of Jamaica, though with less marked extremes of depression and calamity. In Barbados the earlier storms of persecution (*see* p. 55) gave place to sunshine and prosperity for Methodism; the popular tide turned in its favour as completely as in Bermuda (*see* p. 57).

In Trinidad and British Guiana a new and formidable missionary problem has arisen. When the freed negroes declined to work on the plantations, the employers—many of them men of substantial capital—combined to import East Indian coolies to provide labour for their estates, and a steady stream of immigration set in from East to West. Hinduism has been planted on American soil. In 1852 the first Tamil-speaking missionary —John E. S. Williams from Ceylon—was stationed at Demerara. He soon fell a victim to yellow fever; not before he had rendered good service to the incomers as their interpreter and negotiator in dealing with employers and the Government. The work has been interrupted through the difficulty of securing qualified agents; Henry V. P. Bronkhurst (1860–95), a native of India, has been our most persevering and effective labourer in this

arduous mission. Muhammadan coolies soon arrived along with the Hindus, and Chinese besides, so that British Guiana (and to a less extent Trinidad) has become a polyglot and cosmopolitan mission-field. Add to the variety of peoples named the indigenous Indians, still numerous in the interior of Guiana, and this Colony presents one of the most wonderful medleys of races and religions, and one of the most interesting centres for evangelization, in the world. Our forces on the ground are painfully inadequate to the opportunity.

During the almost eighty years that have elapsed since Emancipation, the total membership of the West Indian Districts has advanced from 32,000 to nearly 51,000, while the ministry has been more than doubled. The years of self-government, in many of the Districts, did not contribute to this advance. The most marked development, during the whole eighty years, has taken place in the Honduras and Haiti Districts, which have grown respectively in their Church-membership from 57 to nearly 2,000, and from 83 to 1,000. The Bahamas and Jamaica have not quite doubled their membership in this length of time, while the old St. Vincent District (now the two Districts of Barbados-and-Trinidad, and British Guiana) has achieved this increment. The Leeward Islands District (including Antigua) alone shows a decrease, caused by emigration.

CHAPTER VI

The White Man's Grave

The title of this chapter is happily growing obsolete. Science has mastered the secret of malaria; improved sanitary appliances and precautions, if they do not afford immunity, enable the prudent European to shield himself from the perils of West African residence; and the pestilential season may be escaped by a temporary retreat. The fatalities on this field are nowadays comparatively few, and will be further reduced as the missions penetrate to the higher ground of the interior. But a hundred years back "the gates of Hades" stood wide open on the coasts of Guinea; they well-nigh "prevailed against" the Church. Methodism has purchased her footing in West Africa at a heavy price in the lives of her sons and daughters.

Sierra Leone

During the American War of Independence many fugitive slaves joined the British forces. When the struggle ended (in 1783), these refugees sought new homes. Some of them resorted to the Bahamas, more to Nova Scotia; but many hundreds made their way to England. Most of these were thrown destitute upon the London streets, where mendicant blacks, turned adrift by their masters or set free by process of law,* were already a familiar sight. A project was drawn up in 1786 by Granville Sharp, and a Company formed under his direction by friends of the negroes, to establish a refuge-colony for liberated slaves on the Grain Coast of Africa, of which the deported London blacks should furnish the nucleus. Sierra Leone was the spot chosen, in a district that had been depopulated by the slave-trade. Parliament approved the scheme and provided for the repatriation of the unfortunates, only 400 of whom, however, along with a few white people of low character, were actually shipped to West Africa. The Colony was thus commenced upon a small scale. Its fortunes were at a low ebb, when in 1792 it was reinforced by the arrival of more than 1,000 free blacks from Nova Scotia—a vigorous but turbulent accession to the community. Other ingredients to the population were added, of a far from desirable character, by importation from the West Indies. From time to time, after the prohibition of the Slave-trade in 1807, cargoes of slaves rescued by the British cruisers, and gathered from all the West African coast-tribes, were landed at Sierra Leone, supplying the ultimately preponderant contribution to this strange negro blend. The settlement was viewed with jealousy by the neighbouring native tribes, and with hatred by all who were interested in the slave-trade, which long remained powerful on the shores of Guinea. It was betrayed by deserters, and ravaged by French marauders. The fact that the Colony survived and attained a good degree of order and prosperity, reflects great credit on its conductors. In 1807 the Royal African Company handed over its responsibilities to the Crown.

* Prior to 1772 slaves imported into England remained slaves, and might even be put up for sale. In that year Lord Mansfield delivered the famous verdict which pronounced every man "free" who stepped on British soil. This judgment inspired the lines of Cowper:

> "Slaves cannot breathe in England: if their lungs
> Imbibe our air, that moment they are free!"

But freedom spelt helplessness and misery for the untaught negro, in a frigid climate.

The undertaking bore from the outset a religious stamp. The Sierra Leone Chaplains, in most instances clergymen of high qualities, were repeatedly stricken down by disease. The C.M.S. made this station its charge, and welcomed co-operation, as it does elsewhere on the mission-field. Many of the settlers from Nova Scotia were Methodists. Some report about these had earlier reached John Wesley, for in 1790 he writes: "As a town of negroes in America is almost without precedent, I was struck to hear of a Society there. It is worthy of particular care and attention." Transferred to Sierra Leone, these people reported themselves to Dr. Coke—the earliest Methodist Society on the African Continent, numbering 223; they pleaded for a missionary. Ten years later Joseph Brown, a coloured Local Preacher, writes from the Colony to England: "Our congregation consists of about forty members, who appear to grow in grace. . . . But, as I am old, and my assistant, Mr. Gordon, is likewise advanced in years, and as there is no prospect of any suitable person being raised up that could attend to the little flock should we be called hence, we the more earnestly desire and pray that God may send us some person of warm zeal, to assist in carrying on His blessed work." After long delay, in September 1811 the first Methodist missionary, George Warren, sailed for Sierra Leone, accompanied by three schoolmasters, two of these being also Local Preachers. The Governor and Chaplain cordially welcomed them. They found a Society of 110 members in being.

The prospects of the Mission were of the brightest, when in less than twelve months Warren died; two years later his companions had all been invalided home. This was a beginning of sorrows. For the forlorn hope William Davies, an able Welsh Minister, volunteered in 1815. Mrs. Davies was a gifted teacher; for her use the Governor of the Colony erected a large schoolhouse; but she succumbed to the climate within the first year. Her husband writes touchingly of the friendship shown in his bereavement by the Anglican Chaplain. The two administered the Lord's Supper together to their united flocks, in church and chapel alternately. The Governor also personally assisted the labours of the Wesleyan Missionary in the most unassuming way.* Under Davies' brief ministry Methodism became rooted in Sierra Leone.

Samuel Brown and his wife joined Davies in December, 1816. The next July saw all three prostrate with fever; Mrs. Brown

* This was Lord Charles Macarthy, who ruled the Colony with great ability for many years, and fell at last in a border war with the Ashantis.

died. Davies returned to England early in 1818; Brown, who was joined twelve months later by John Huddlestone and George Lane, was transferred soon afterwards to the West Indies, whence in a few years he had to return home. At the age of seventy, this gallant veteran reappeared on the West African field, and ended his ministry where its early triumphs were won. Huddlestone and Lane were both carried off by an epidemic of yellow fever in 1823. Thus in twelve years five victims had fallen in death, while the rest of the staff had all been driven from their posts.

This melancholy story was often rehearsed on West Coast stations. But as each man fell, another filled the gap. The uncertainty of tenure made ardent missionaries more eager to redeem the time, and less heedful of the physical conditions of their work. The housing was bad*; the food often unsuitable; experience in combating tropical disease was wanting; the general habits of Europeans on the coast were reckless. The "seasoning fever," which attended the heavy rains, carried off many new-comers; black-water fever struck down men suddenly in travelling; while in certain years visitations of yellow fever decimated the white community.

Still the work grew: fresh ground was continually won for Christ; the reclamation of the human débris heaped together at Sierra Leone went on apace. The Anglican Rector of Freetown, writing in 1827 of the Wesleyan missionaries, bears witness: "These gentlemen visit the hospitals, the jail, and the abodes of sickness, vice, and misery. . . . By constantly going about among their hearers, they evince that they are their spiritual fathers. . . . I rejoice in the good which I trust they are doing, and I bid them God-speed!" On this mission-field the catholic spirit was not lacking.

The wastage of life and health in the Sierra Leone District made the raising up of a native ministry a painfully urgent problem. But it was not until 1842 that, under the wise and generous management of Thomas Dove, a High School and Training Institution came into existence; the latter, however, lapsed in 1871 for thirty years. Three African Ministers are found on the West African Stations for 1857: Charles Knight (1844–79)—rescued in childhood from a slave-ship, educated in England—who became Chairman of his District; Joseph May

* So late as 1860, Dr. Osborn had to write from the Mission House peremptorily forbidding the brethren to stable their horses beneath their dwelling-houses!

(1848–91), another rescued slave-child, and an earnest minister of Christ; and James Hero (1857–69).

As English residence became more permanent, missionary teaching began to tell more powerfully. Under the care of Henry Badger* (S. L., 1837–46; Gambia, 1847–51), Thomas Raston (1842–50), and James Edney (1850–56), "the deepening of the work of God" became "a more marked feature of success than even its numerical extension." The Society's Report for 1849 tells us that "the public mind is awakening, and beginning to see and feel its own power and importance. The thirst for knowledge is general . . . the adult population is seizing every opportunity for improvement." Intelligence and piety such as these references indicate, were marvellous fruits of the Spirit to be produced upon this soil and through labours so broken and burdened.

For wider missionary purposes, however, Sierra Leone was a disadvantageous starting-point. The Colony forms an enclave on the coast, enclosed on the north and west by French Guinea, to which English missionaries have no access. Its constituency had no local affinities, no root in the ground on which they dwelt. The Sierra Leoneans having no common native dialect, adopted a sort of "pidgin English"; their black neighbours despised and were despised by them. Successful as this Mission was, it hardly could become a mother Church for Western Africa.

In 1857 the S. L. District embraced four Circuits, with a Church-membership of about 7,000, employing three African Ministers and five English Missionaries.

The Gambia

The Gambia Mission was, however, an offshoot from that of Sierra Leone. The Portuguese first opened up the splendid waterway of the River Gambia; by the middle of the seventeenth century British traders had ousted them. The possession of the river was confirmed to England by the Treaty of Paris in 1816. To protect British interests, and to check the troublesome French slave-traders, the settlement of Bathurst was formed on St. Mary's Island, which lies twelve miles up the river. Sir Charles Macarthy (*see* p. 67) recommended this infant colony to the care of the W.M.M. Society.

* Mrs. Badger was amongst the most accomplished educational missionaries the Society has ever had, teaching first in the West Indies, then for a number of years, with her daughter's help, directing the training of teachers in West Africa; she died in 1852.

Accordingly, John Morgan was sent out to Bathurst in 1821. The settlement contained about 1,000 persons (beside a small garrison)—chiefly rescued slaves, with a few mulattos and a sprinkling of Europeans. "The brutal wretchedness of the natives," says Morgan, "surpasses all my previous conceptions of misery and degradation. . . . Having walked about amongst them for several days, striving in vain to make those who professed to understand English understand the object of my coming, I turned a wistful eye to the vessel from which I landed, and wished in my heart I could immediately return in her to England." The arrival of John Baker, who had worked successfully at Sierra Leone and was conversant with the broken negro English, put another face on the situation.

But the missionaries were instructed to evangelize the Jolof and Mandingo heathen on the mainland. This was extremely difficult. The prevalence of the slave-trade made every white man suspected. Moreover Muhammadanism was rife along the river, and barred the way. The two missionaries made an heroic and well-devised attempt to plant a mission-station amongst the Jolofs. They were prostrated by the climate, and Baker was removed to the West Indies. William Bell arrived to take Baker's place—a picture of flourishing health—and died in a few weeks. The Gambia District proved as fatal to its missionaries as that of Sierra Leone.*

In 1823 a second British settlement was made at Macarthy's Island, in the heart of the Mandingo country 150 miles above St. Mary's; and land was here set apart for a mission. The Mandingos were mostly Muhammadans; the Fulahs (for whose benefit the industrial mission referred to on p. 16 had been designed) were their slaves; they remained heathen. These were a peaceable and industrious people, and Morgan pitied their condition; when in 1824 a new colleague arrived to assist him at Bathurst, he removed to Macarthy's Island with a view to reach them. The long river journeys aggravated his chronic fever; in the next year his shattered health drove him to England, leaving behind him in Bathurst "a small Church of natives about thirty in number, one of whom had begun to preach the Gospel."

Under Morgan's successors the St. Mary's Society steadily grew, despite frequent changes of ministry. Competent and

* The nature of the climate may be judged from the fact that out of 397 British soldiers sent to the Gambia in the years 1825–26, only 120 were alive at the end of nineteen months.

willing native helpers were raised up. Five Gambian Assistant Missionaries figure on the Stations between 1830 and 1848. All these men had been slaves of French proprietors, who though free on British territory were liable to re-capture across the border * ; their freedom was purchased, partly by their own savings and partly by British contributions.

Though for some years it was impossible to develop the up-river work, Macarthy's Island (now peopled by liberated slaves) was not abandoned. John Cupidon, the senior Native Assistant, was posted here in 1832 ; before long he complained that his scholars were overtaking him ! Mr. Morgan advocated the cause of the Fulahs in England, with such effect that in 1832–33 a small undenominational society was formed " for benefiting the Fulah tribe, and through their instrumentality the interior of Western Africa." A special fund was thus raised to maintain the up-river Mission for a term of years, at the end of which it was expected to be self-supporting. Thomas Dove was sent out by this means in the spring of 1833. Afterwards came Robert Macbrair (previously in Alexandria, *see* p. 128), a scholarly man, who was to study Mandingo in order to translate the Gospels into this language, which the Fulahs used. Unhappily he was struck down by illness, aggravated by malicious persecution, after nine months in the country. Notwithstanding, a promising Fulah community was by this time created on Macarthy's Island.

Dove's successor, William Fox, thus described the occupations of the missionary : " In addition to frequent preaching and pastoral duties, he had to superintend a number of mechanics, being architect and builder too ; besides which he had on the 600 acres of land sometimes seventy day-labourers preparing it for cultivation, with about as many head of cattle. He had also to act as a magistrate ; and no small time was spent in dispensing medicines. . . . He was a kind of ambassador-general to most of the petty chiefs and kings for some hundred miles east, west, north, and south." All this (in Fox's case), in the intervals between prostrating attacks of fever and dysentery ! Along the course of the Gambia, the hinterland and the indigenous tribes have at last been reached. While the Gospel was preached in the Jolof and Mandingo tongues, at the same time industrial training was carried on ; and from this outpost Scripture was circulated, through the native traders, far and wide.

* Great Britain possesses only a narrow strip of land along the river-side ; the interior forms the French province of Senegambia.

The result of the five years' work projected in 1833 by the "Southampton Committee" under Morgan's instigation, is thus summarised: "Upwards of two hundred natives have already embraced Christianity, and are united in Church-fellowship. The Mandingo language has been reduced to grammatical form, and a grammar and elementary books have been printed; the Gospels have been translated into that language. A good school is in successful operation. The commencement of a Fulah village has been made at Macarthy's Island; and the necessary implements of husbandry have been furnished to it."

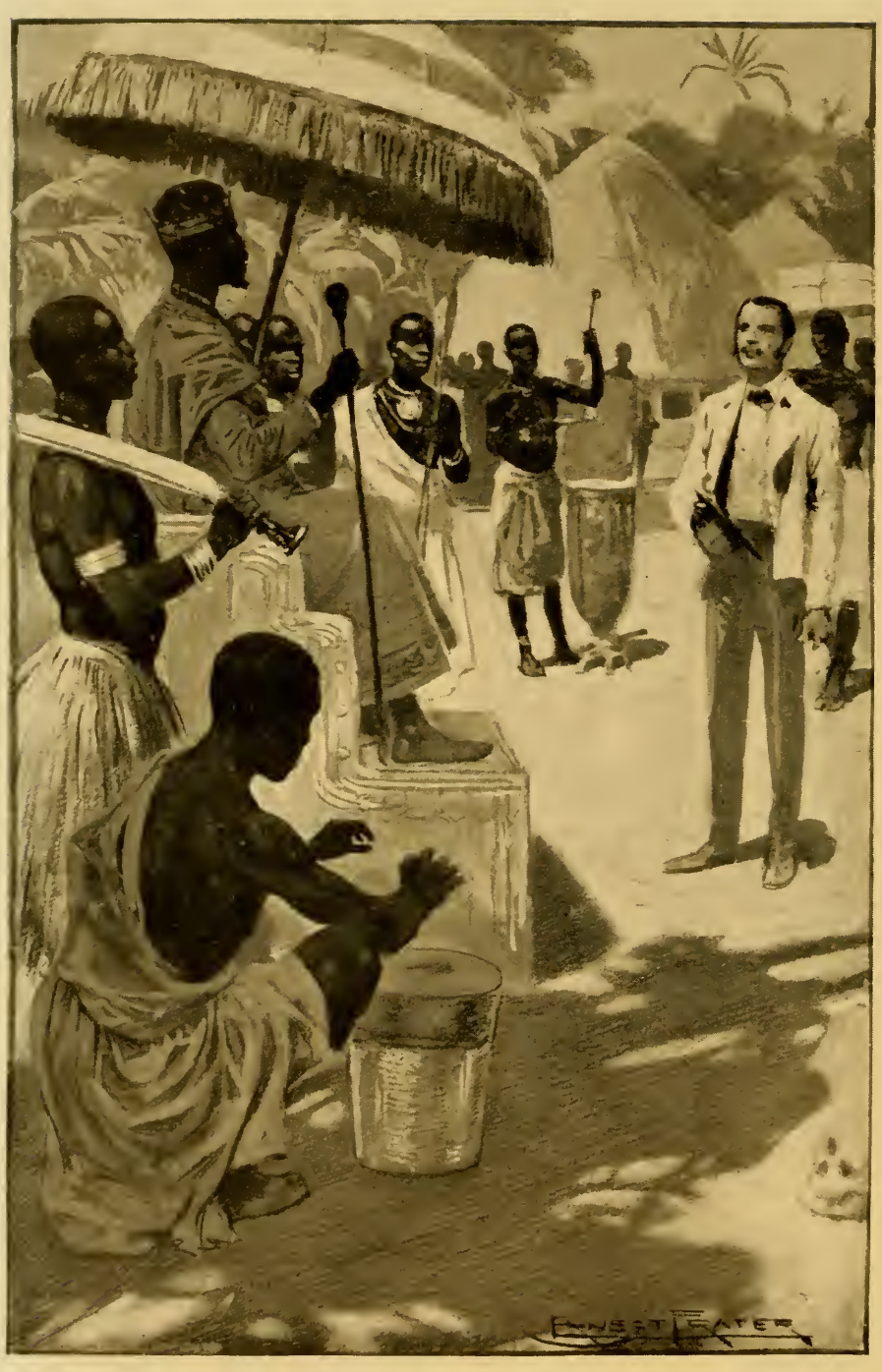
But the Gambia Mission has fallen short of the hopes of its projectors. The cruel climate prevented continuity of operation. The prevalence of Muhammadanism and the frequent disturbances amongst the riverain tribes have forbidden the extension of the work to the mainland. Charles Knight (*see* p. 68), appointed to this post from the older District in 1854, writes: "I found the beautiful mission-house and premises dilapidated. . . . The Society is in many respects half a century behind those at Sierra Leone."

In 1857 the Gambia District contained three Circuits, with an aggregate membership of something less than a thousand souls.

The Gold Coast

Cape Coast Castle, situated 700 miles east by south of Sierra Leone—a stronghold of the slave-trade in its palmy days—had been an English fort as far back as 1651. From 1751 onwards the S.P.G. supplied a succession of Chaplains, under whose care a school was carried on for English teaching within the Castle walls, with much benefit to the surrounding natives.

In 1830, when the chaplaincy was vacant and no Christian minister had visited the spot for many years, a group of native lads trained in the C.C.C. school, who had learnt to love the Bible, became seekers of salvation and formed themselves into a "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge." They drew up simple rules of conduct, and met weekly for prayer and Scripture-study. The supply of Bibles running short, they ordered a consignment through a certain Captain Potter, a Bristol Methodist, trading at the port. Delighted with this commission, the good Captain prompted the applicants to ask for a missionary besides. The Governor of the settlement approved, and advised that the W.M.M.S. should be approached; "for," said he, "these people with their fervour



Thomas B. Freeman before the Court of the King of Ashanti.

remind me much of the members of that Church in England." Captain Potter carried the petition to the Missionary Committee in London, and offered to convey the minister appointed free of charge.

Joseph Dunwell was the chosen man; he reached the coast in January, 1835. Speaking of his reception, he writes: "Joy beamed on every countenance. Their gratitude is without bounds, and they say, 'We did never think of the missionary's coming to teach black man!'" In less than six months Dunwell fell a victim to the coast-fever. The next year two young couples arrived to occupy this promising station: within a few weeks one man alone was left; and he, burying his sorrow in prodigious labour, followed his companions to the grave ten months later. Meanwhile God was preparing the workman—"a child of the sun," as he loved to say—qualified to build up the Church of God on these death-dealing shores.

Thomas Birch Freeman was the son of a negro father and English mother, born in England. He was well educated, and graduated as a scientific gardener. In 1837 he was accepted by the W.M.M.S. for service in West Africa, and arrived, with his cultured English wife, at Cape Coast Castle in January of the following year. He took up the task of church-building already commenced; by the month of June a sanctuary was raised which seated nearly 1,000 hearers, and was filled at its opening. In the midst of these labours, his wife suddenly sickened and died.

Freeman's work on the coast prospered; but his heart yearned toward the heathen of the interior. He tells us that during those early months, "the tales of horror, wretchedness and cruelty which I often heard respecting the Ashantis,* wrought in my mind the deepest commiseration, and a constant restlessness to commence missionary operations amongst them."

In January, 1839, Freeman made a journey to Kumassi, leaving William de Graft, the leader of the Bible-student band previously referred to, in charge of the coast-mission. The Colonial Governor, along with the newly-formed Churches, bore most of the charges of the expedition. After a tedious march and long detention, during which the missionary ingratiated himself with the people, he reached his goal and was received by the king in barbaric

* Ashanti is an important native kingdom, now incorporated in British territory, whose capital, Kumassi, lies about 100 miles due north of Cape Coast Castle. The Ashantis were hereditary enemies of the coast natives, the Fantis.

state. The Court, on rising, defiled past its guest in a procession lasting a full hour and a half. For some days the visitor was confined to his apartments, as His Majesty "was aware that Europeans did not like to see human sacrifices!" All day long the muffled death-drums beat, and Freeman watched from the courtyard of his lodging the vultures wheeling over the city of blood. At liberty once more, he wandered through the town finding streets wide, clean and regular, but horrible with corpses lying in all directions, headless and in every stage of putrefaction. As the rainy season approached, Freeman craved permission to depart. When he spoke of returning to establish a resident missionary, the King asked time for consideration, promising an answer if Mr. Freeman would communicate with him again after the rains; and dismissed him with liberal gifts. Content with this reply, Freeman returned to the coast.

The opening thus gained into the heart of heathendom embarrassed the Committee at home. Its available funds were already pledged, yet the call of Ashanti might not be refused. Freeman and de Graft were therefore invited to plead their cause with the Methodist public, their places being supplied meanwhile from England. They did this so well, that in December, 1840, they sailed back to Cape Coast accompanied by eight additional missionaries (including three wives), and bearing a handsome present from the Missionary Society for the Ashanti King. "Never was a missionary party sent out from England with a more intense feeling of sympathy and interest!" By the following September the *eight* had been reduced to *three*—one married couple, and a single man; four had died, and a fifth had gone home disabled.

In November, 1841, Freeman journeyed again to Kumassi, taking with him a young missionary named Robert Brooking, and conducting homewards two youthful Ashanti princes,* who had been received as hostages by the British Government and educated for some time in England, where they had embraced Christianity. The King received the missionaries with effusive demonstrations of favour—one day donning an ancient English uniform and inviting them to a dinner served in what he supposed to be the highest English style; on the next introducing them to the apartments of his wives, and executing a dance before them in honour of themselves and their illustrious Queen. After these courtesies, he permitted them to preach in public and hold

* One of these royal youths, named John Ossu Ansah, served as an Assistant Missionary from 1851–61.

Christian worship. The little party, including the two Christian princes, celebrated the Lord's Supper and took the Methodist Covenant together, in this blood-steeped city.

The Mission was thus set on foot, and Christian influence steadily grew in Kumassi. Soon after the coming of the missionaries, a conflagration broke out, gutting many houses which contained costly Muhammadan charms against fire ;* the failure of this insurance shook the power of the fetish-mongers, and supplied a telling evidence against witchcraft. In 1843, George Chapman (Brooking's successor) was able to settle a dispute between the King and the British power, by this means strengthening the hold of the Mission both upon King and people. A strange scene was witnessed at Kumassi in the spring of 1844 : to the familiar sound of the death-drum, a young Ashanti prince publicly consigned his fetish to the flames ; at the same time, two leading chiefs were allowed to commute for a contribution in gold their prescribed tribute of slaves for the periodic wholesale human sacrifice then in preparation.

In 1845 Chapman lay dangerously ill ; the King first sent his medical attendant, whose aid was courteously declined ; then he visited the patient in person to impart his blessing, which was accounted a sovereign remedy in all diseases—a token of goodwill unexampled in the case of a stranger. Despite these attentions, the missionary's sickness compelled his retreat, at the very time when his work appeared on the way to full success. Other good men followed Chapman at Kumassi ; but these died or broke down one after another, before they had mastered the language. For the time, the climate effectually prohibited the advance of the Gospel in Ashanti, and reinforcements ceased to be sent. The *Missionary Notices* for 1862 intimate that " for many years the Mission House and Chapel at Kumassi have been occupied by a native, hired for the purpose of looking after the property." It was not until the following decade that an English minister again occupied this post. The Ashanti story will be resumed in Chapter XV.

Freeman sought to reach the hinterland in other directions beside that of Ashanti. In 1842 we find him, with the faithful de Graft, landing at Badagry on the Slave Coast, 320 miles east of C.C. Castle, in answer to a summons from Abeokuta, the capital of the Yoruba country. Along this shore the traffic in human

* The Muhammadans sell protective charms to the heathen containing verses from the Koran, which continue to have a great sale in West Africa.

flesh was still busy; hundreds of slaves were yearly exported from Eko (now Lagos), a short distance further east. A number of Yoruba slaves, rescued some years previously and settled at Sierra Leone, had purchased a small vessel to ply in the Gulf. Sailing along the Slave Coast, these mariners recognised features of their home-landscape. They landed at Lagos and followed the river up to Abeokuta, where they found friends of their childhood still alive. The news they carried back to Sierra Leone led a company of their kindred to club together and buy disused slave-ships, in which they migrated to their native land. The Lagos slave-dealers, taking alarm at this movement, maltreated the returning negroes and blocked the way from Lagos inland. The Badagry road to Abeokuta, however, was open, and by this a message came to the missionary at Cape Coast Castle: "For Christ's sake come quickly! Let nothing but sickness prevent you. Do not stop to change your clothes, to eat or drink or sleep; and salute no man by the way." Thomas Freeman was not the man to turn a deaf ear to this appeal.

Arrived at Badagry, where human sacrifices were even more frequent than at Kumassi, he first put up a Mission House in that place, and then set off for Abeokuta, 70 miles northward. To some one who warned him of the dangers of the route, his servant answered: "My master does not care for that! His work is just now in the interior, and he will therefore go. If he live, it will be well; if he die, it will be well. He does not care: he has a good home to go to when he dies." On reaching Abeokuta, the traveller was greeted with cries of "Welcome, welcome, white man! Blessing! Long life to you, white man!" The chief, Shodeke, was one of those few found "in every nation," who, without the light of revelation, "fear God and work righteousness"—wise, upright, thoughtful. He had been much exercised by the rival claims of the Heathen and Muhammadan priests. Now that the true light had come, he gratefully welcomed it. The crafty priests, foiled in argument, resorted to poison, and ere long this friendly king lay dead. In after years the old people would say: "On the day that Shodeke died, the sun forgot to shine and the birds to sing."

At the close of this year a C.M.S. missionary arrived at Abeokuta; and Freeman, leaving de Graft and his wife behind at Badagry, travelled homewards along the coast. But his dreams were of an advance to be made into Hausaland, with Abeokuta for its base. In 1851 the British Government finally stopped slave-dealing in the Lagos region. A usurping and troublesome

king was deposed in that country and the rightful heir replaced on the throne, on his undertaking to suppress the slave-trade in his dominions, to abolish human sacrifices, and to grant liberty and protection to Christian missionaries. The year 1854 witnessed the opening of the Lagos Mission, which now extends far into Nigeria.

On his return to Cape Coast from Badagry in 1843, Freeman landed at Whydah in order to visit Abomi, the capital of the Dahomian State. He interviewed the king of Dahomey, who requested a missionary for Whydah. Further westwards, he found at Little Popo a chief, by name George Lawson, engaged in forming a school for the study of the English language, who eagerly welcomed the offer of a teacher. From this beginning the Popo Mission sprang.

Freeman's energy and success had now produced a wide impression on the native mind. Openings multiplied in various directions; the work already done was unmistakably owned of God. There seems little doubt that if the tide then rising could have been "taken at the flood," the Gospel would have spread fast and far in Western Africa. But by this time ecclesiastical strife had checked the flow of Methodist liberality and diverted attention from the foreign field; the fatal cry of "retrenchment" was raised at home. Freeman's excursions and extensions involved the Missionary Society in alarming outlay; success, it appeared, was too costly! The Committee in Bishopsgate felt itself compelled to cry "Halt!" to its missionary captain on the Gold Coast; and a General Superintendent was sent out from England, with instructions to keep his eagerness within bounds. "Conditions were imposed which Mr. Freeman found he could not comply with; and the friction was so painful, that he reluctantly severed his connexion with the Missionary Society"—this was in 1858. He retired to Accra, a town situated between Lagos and Cape Coast Castle, where he trained native youths in market-gardening and collected tropical plants for Kew Gardens in England, still serving the Mission as Local Preacher. He was frequently consulted by Government, and despatched on delicate embassies to native tribes in the interior. In 1873 the old missionary returned to the ministerial ranks, in which he laboured once more until 1886. He died in the year 1890, at the age of eighty-one.

Thomas Freeman was the one man given by God to West African Methodism who combined native sympathies and aptitudes, and acclimatisation, with English training and powers o

leadership, and who was able to give a full life-service in this dangerous field. The loss to the Mission of the fifteen years of his retirement, befalling at the time when his experience was ripe and his influence at its height, was calamitous. Notwithstanding this heavy subtraction, Freeman accomplished great things. He was the chief instrument of the propagation of Methodism eastwards of Sierra Leone, where a great and effectual door is open for its advance at the present hour.

Freeman's English fellow-workers remained in most cases too short a time to master the peculiar problems of the West African field. One West Indian man of colour, Henry Wharton, rivalled Freeman in his endurance, labouring on the Coast from 1845 to 1873. The homeborn ministry was perforce rapidly developed. In 1857 no fewer than ten African Ministers appear on the list of Stations, seven of whom completed at least ten years of service. The Church-membership of the Gold Coast District recorded in 1857 was 2,281.

CHAPTER VII

South Africa and the Two Shaws

In the course of the French wars Holland, compelled to side with Napoleon, had been stripped by England of her colonial empire. Java was restored under the Treaty of Vienna (1815), but Ceylon was retained and Cape Colony*, possessions of first importance to the security of British India. The Methodist Conference of 1813 appointed John M'Kenny as its first missionary to the Cape.

Methodism already possessed a footing in this new British Colony. Its pioneer was Sergeant Kendrick of the 21st Light Dragoons, who preached and held prayer-meetings and Class-meetings, and despite violent opposition from his superior officers, in a short time gathered in and around Cape Town a Methodist Society of several score people. Then he sent home for help, and M'Kenny's appointment was the result.

M'Kenny was instructed to make the evangelizing of the

* Cape Town was first seized by the British in 1795, then restored to the Dutch at the Peace of Amiens in 1802, and recaptured finally in 1806.

native population (who had been enslaved by the Dutch) his ulterior aim. The missionary, however, found his way blocked. "The soldiers," said the British Governor*, "have their chaplains appointed; and if you preach to the slaves, the Dutch ministers may be offended." Thus checkmated, and hearing glowing accounts of the openings in Ceylon, M'Kenny transferred his services thither (*comp.* p. 142).

The Methodist soldiers renewed their request for a minister and Barnabas Shaw was selected for this difficult post. He and his wife landed at Cape Town in April, 1816. Though furnished with an introduction from the Colonial Secretary in London, Shaw was rebuffed like his predecessor. He was made, however, of sterner stuff: "having been refused the sanction of the Governor," he writes, "on the following Sunday I commenced without it." For some months he proceeded, unsanctioned but unhindered, in his English ministrations, praying all the while for access to the heathen. The local Government remained disapproving; the Dutch proprietors thwarted every attempt to reach their slaves. The missionaries of the London Society, after struggling long with the same difficulties, had gone out amongst the tribes of the hinterland. Shaw resolved to follow their example. A Mr. Schmelen, of the L.M.S., labouring in Namaqualand—a barren, thinly peopled region to the north-west of the Colony—was then visiting Cape Town, and Shaw was minded to "trek" into the wilderness after him. His wife was suffering in health, but she anticipated his doubts by exclaiming, as they listened to Schmelen's story: "We will go with you. The Lord is opening our way to the heathen." When the cost of the journey was mentioned, and the probability of objections at home, the brave woman replied: "If the Missionary Society is offended, tell them we will bear all the expense ourselves. We have a little property in England, and for this let it go!" The Governor by this time had learnt to value Mr. Shaw, and offered him a vacant Dutch Church to prevent his departure. On September 16th, 1816, the Shaws set out with the Schmelen party for Namaqualand, and the history of our South African Missions began. The Boer farmers on the way had little sympathy with the object of the expedition; but they showed the travellers hearty and lavish hospitality, as they passed their homesteads. Such kindness on the part of the Boers has often

* Lord Charles Somerset. The British authorities, it should be understood, considered themselves in the early times of the Colony bound to maintain Dutch law.

cheered our missionaries in their lonely and toilsome journeys over the veldt.

Schmelen's station in Great Namaqualand lay beyond the Orange River. The Little Namaquas* inhabited the wilds of the Karee Desert south of that river, about 400 miles from Cape Town. Rumours of Christianity had reached this people; and it so befell that their chief, Jantje Wildschott, at this moment was journeying to Cape Town to seek a Christian teacher. By God's guidance, the two parties met on the trackless plain. Recognising in their encounter the finger of God, the missionary travellers turned aside to the winter-quarters of Jantje's tribe: in a few days the Schmelens resumed their journey northwards; the Shaws remained behind.

The Namaquas were cattle-rearing nomads, living on milk and on venison caught in hunting; they eked out this diet, in their frequent times of scarcity, by eating locusts and larvæ, with edible roots and grass-seeds rifled from the ant-heaps. Their moral condition was miserably degraded; they presented little but their good-will to make life amongst them tolerable, or labour for their elevation hopeful. Writing home shortly after his arrival, Barnabas Shaw warns the would-be missionary what to expect: "In travelling, heat, cold, hunger, thirst; sleeping in waggons, in Hottentot huts, or on the ground. On arriving at his station—no bread, till he sows corn and reaps it; no vegetables, till he has made gardens; no house to live in, till one is built by the missionary's own hands. . . . . Let no brother, however, be discouraged from coming to us; let him build on the promise of Jesus, 'Lo I am with you alway!' This promise will afford him water in the most barren desert, a shade from the hottest sun, abundance in times of scarcity, hope in despair, health in sickness, pleasure in pain, joy in sorrow, and life in death!" This was the spirit of our early adventurers for Christ.

For the summer months Jantje's people encamped in a pleasant and salubrious mountain-valley, to which the Dutch had given the name of Lilyfontein. To this spot Mr. and Mrs. Shaw repaired, with their savage friends; and here the headquarters of the Mission continue to this day. Preaching began at once: some of the Namaquas understood Dutch, which Shaw had

* The Namaquas are a branch of the Hottentots, the older people of South Africa, who had been thrust out by the invading Kafirs into the poorer lands. Ethnically they belong to the yellow rather than the black races; their language is radically distinct from the Kafir (Bantu) dialects.

already learnt; for the rest, interpreters were never lacking. The missionary's house-building was a revelation; the plying of tools fascinated the people; indolent as they were, they longed to handle the magic instruments. By the following year there were many willing hands; and the church was erected,—largely by way of relief-work, as it was a time of distress through drought. Spiritual fruit before long was apparent; conscience troubled the community; debauchery and infanticide diminished and hid themselves; the conception of a living, holy God grew on the people, whose native religion was a vague animism.

Next to building, in the education of the Namaquas, came agriculture and the art of the smith. Huge was the excitement over the first ploughed furrow; the clanging of the forge, its giant breath and fierce flame moulding the stubborn metal to man's will, raised wonder to ecstasy. In the domestic sphere, the operations of the missionary's wife seemed hardly less miraculous and beneficent. Lilyfontein became an evangelistic, educational, and industrial mission in one, and took hold of the entire nature of the wild heathen. In his manifold experiments Barnabas Shaw was efficiently aided by the colleague, Edward Edwards, who joined him in the spring of 1818—a man of uncommon zeal, versatility, and endurance, who lived to render half a century of foundation-work. South African Methodism was favoured in the calibre and staying-power of the first generation of its ministry.

So successful were the labours of Shaw and Edwards and so receptive did Jantje's tribe prove, that an English traveller, visiting Lilyfontein in 1821, writes thus to friends at Cape Town: "You know I was formerly averse to missionaries . . . but I have now learned to correct my opinion. I do assure you that theirs is a most laborious life, and I should prefer being a slave to the being obliged to teach the Namaquas; yet the good done among them is astonishing. They are now, for the most part, in a state of civilisation of which you can form no adequate idea." Hearing of the prosperity of the station, Lord Charles Somerset took steps to make it permanent, by assigning to the Little Namaquas a tract of country in joint property, and placing it under the control of a Board elected amongst themselves, with the resident Wesleyan minister for chairman—a constitution still in force. In 1855, near the end of our present period, the Lilyfontein Namaquas built for themselves a church seating 700 people and costing £1,000—an achievement indicating the spiritual and secular progress realised within a generation.

From Lilyfontein the Gospel was taken to the Bushmen,—the desert Ishmaelites of South Africa. The constant migrations of this people and their want of cohesion defeated every attempt to Christianize them. Amongst the Namaqua converts were three gifted brothers of the name of Links, two of whom devoted themselves to missioning the Bushmen. For this purpose Jacob Links was made an Assistant Missionary. He and a fellow-countryman, along with William Threlfall, a fine young missionary of Yorkshire extraction, were on their way, in 1825, to start a mission north of the Orange River, when the three were treacherously murdered by Bushmen. This was our first martyrdom in South Africa; the Namaquas had worthily earned their crown by the Englishman's side.

Threlfall's journey was the fourth made by the missionaries into Great Namaqualand. James Archbell—always to the front in the early South African days (*see* pp. 93, 94)—attended by Jacob Links, had been sent in 1820 to form a station amongst the well-disposed Bondleswaarts in this region. The outbreak of war drove Archbell back; his second endeavour was arrested by the summons, reaching him in 1822, to join the mission in Bechuanaland. After this disappointment, followed by the Threlfall tragedy, the Great Namaqualand project dropped.

The Bondleswaarts still pleaded for help; their plea touched the heart of a certain Mr. Nisbett of the Madras Civil Service, who presided over a missionary meeting held in the Colony in 1833. "Cannot something be done," he asked, "for this miserable people? If you will send a missionary, I will give £300. If that is not sufficient, I will dispose of my carriage and horses; I would rather trudge on foot, than that Great Namaqualand should not have the Gospel." At the same gathering Edward Cook was present, newly come from England —"a man of fervent piety, undaunted courage, and robust health"; he volunteered for Great Namaqualand, and the matter was clinched. Peter Links, brother of the martyred Jacob, became Cook's companion; these two founded the station of Nisbett Bath (*or* Warmbad), from which centre the Great Namaquas were evangelized over an area of hundreds of miles. Edward Cook was another Barnabas Shaw for energy and resourcefulness. But his prodigal toil overtaxed his uncommon strength, and he died, having crowded the work of a life-time into ten years. The success of Lilyfontein was repeated at Nisbett Bath upon a larger scale, and under greater difficulties. Cook's work was carried forward by a succession of choice men—including Richard Haddy, Joseph

and Henry Tindall (father and son), Benjamin Ridsdale, John A. Bailie, and Macleod the schoolmaster.

Our Mission thus extended a thousand miles from Cape Town, till it touched German South-west Africa, covering in a straggling line the western fringe of the South African desert, a drought-scourged region rendered barely habitable by the scant moisture wafted from the bordering ocean. Its people were isolated in language and race, and difficult of access from Cape Colony, whose interests gravitated eastwards. Their progress north-westwards brought the Methodists into contact with the (German) Rhenish Mission, which occupied this coast in force. At the same juncture the cry of "retrenchment" arose in England (*see* p. 212). It was resolved therefore, despite the remonstrances of the native Churches and the missionary staff, to evacuate Great Namaqualand in favour of the Rhenish Missionaries, the Orange River being fixed as the boundary between the two Societies; this withdrawal, commencing in 1852, was completed in 1867. So the Germans entered into a precious heritage of Methodist labours in South Africa, hallowed by martyr blood. They have been faithful to the trust.

Though the ground won by Barnabas Shaw in the end passed largely into other hands, the service he had rendered in Namaqualand was of the utmost value to the Methodist cause. His was the first essay of a Methodist Preacher amongst an absolutely heathen and barbarian people; it was marked by manifest Divine guidance, and attended by conspicuous and immediate success. His bold initiative pointed the way in South Africa, and gave a powerful stimulus to missionary zeal at home. Barnabas Shaw could not only do great things; he could do them in a striking fashion, and could make the doing of them live before the eyes of others. He had the art of writing despatches as well as of winning battles. Men of the heroic type were drawn into the field after his example.

In 1826 Mr. Shaw was recalled to the Cape, where he remained to the close of his life, with a six years' interval spent in England. The Chairman of the District was obliged to reside in Cape Town, for the oversight of the field. The intolerance of the Government and the European colonists gradually abated. Our work advanced amongst soldiers and civilians, in town and country. In this field Colonial Methodism was associated at every point with native interests; the local Church, in the main, has acted a missionary part toward the heathen folk about it. Barnabas Shaw's long ministry in Cape Town was devoted

chiefly to the coloured people; he toiled in their interest unweariedly.

The Emancipation Act of 1833, which revolutionised the West Indies, profoundly disturbed South African affairs also. Thirty-nine thousand slaves were liberated at a stroke—a crisis exposing society to the gravest perils: happily their Christianization had so far advanced that the transition was made quietly and in good order; with comparatively little trouble, they were absorbed in the general working population. The Boer proprietors, however, bitterly resented the enfranchisement. Being badly used by the Government in the payment of compensation, 10,000 of them made the "Great Trek" northwards across the Orange River, to escape British control. This separation (1836–38) has affected the whole subsequent history of South Africa. Two opposite polities were set up; two rival powers were henceforth struggling, more or less openly, for ascendency. For the time, Methodism suffered little from the Boer movement.

Barnabas Shaw was succeeded in the Chairmanship by Thomas Laidman Hodgson (1837–59: *comp.* pp. 92, 93), under whose genial influence our position in Cape Town was greatly strengthened. At the date of Shaw's death, in 1857, the number of Circuits in the Cape of Good Hope District was 10—4 of these in Namaqualand—of missionaries 11, and of Church-members 1,301.

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In the eastern direction the main development of the Colony, and of the Mission, took place. Eastwards of the Colony there stretched a fertile and wholesome region known as the Zuurveld (later, Albany), then unoccupied save for an occasional Dutch farmer, but exposed to the raids of the Ama-Xosa Kafirs who lived across the Great Fish River. Lord Charles Somerset conceived the idea of planting this vacant land with British settlers, who might shield the Colony from the native marauders and add to its resources. His plan was adopted by Parliament, and carefully worked out. At that period the Mother Country was passing through the economic troubles which followed the close of the Great War; and on the publication of the proposals for the Albany settlement, 90,000 candidates offered themselves!* Out of these 4,000 were selected, who formed a remarkably fine body of emigrants. The chosen families were grouped in parties,

* The Government prospectus had judiciously omitted all reference to Kafir hostility. It was not until they had landed, and received instructions never to go out to plough *without carrying a gun*, that the settlers suspected the military object they were to serve.

with a recognised captain and a distinct location in the new colony assigned to each. The larger parties were allowed to choose their own chaplain from any respectable denomination.

The London party contained a number of Methodists, through whose influence the choice of minister was referred to the Wesleyan Missionary Committee,—a decision resulting in the appointment of William Shaw (1820). William Shaw (unrelated by blood to Barnabas) was a soldier's son—a capable, intelligent, well-set-up young man of twenty-one, already married and the father of two children. He was a Local Preacher and a candidate for missionary service, declined previously on account of his family ties. In this young emigrants' chaplain the master-builder of South African Methodism had come upon the scene. William Shaw was a born leader and organizer, possessing " the sagacity of the statesman, without the craft of the diplomatist." Colonists and natives alike learnt to revere him ; " successive Governors consulted him as one on whose sound judgment and accurate knowledge they could always rely." For long William Shaw was the most influential Christian minister in British South Africa.*

The emigrant party to which Shaw was attached, were settled at Salem ; but his Circuit included all the encampments. He sought out the settlers in distant and hazardous journeys ; his ministry was welcomed by men of every class, and bore abundant fruit. Soon a stout band of lay preachers was enlisted in his aid ; commodious chapels sprang up in the new townships, and Methodist ministrations spread throughout Albany. Amongst the colonists were a number of Methodists who had read at home Barnabas Shaw's racy letters in the *Missionary Notices*, and had come out with the hope of aiding in the conversion of the heathen ; these proved material ready to William Shaw's hand. His genius appeared greater in nothing than in his power to attract and inspire helpers for every kind of religious work. John Ayliff, William Shepstone, Richard Haddy, Joseph and Henry Tindall, John A. Bailie (*see* p. 83), came of the Albany stock ; also

* The authorities at home deserve their meed of praise for William Shaw's success ; they knew a strong man when they saw him, however young he might be. Shaw took care to advise the Missionary Committee of his movements and plans, and secured their consent for every step. He sent them in his letters well-sifted facts and well-weighed judgments, and gave evidence of administrative power and jealous regard to economy. He secured accordingly the absolute confidence of the Mission House, which was prepared to give him *carte blanche*, when the time came to advance. It was able to back a successful man in this way *upon a rising income*. (*See* p. 212.)

Thomas Jenkins, whose career amongst the Pondos deserves a volume to itself (*see* p. 91) ; and Henry H. Dugmore, the author of more than a hundred compositions in the Kafir Hymnbook ; with other zealous labourers in the lay and ministerial ranks.

Grahamstown was at that time a military frontier-post on the Kaffrarian border ; William Shaw was welcomed there by Sergeant-Majors Price and Lucas, who had been brought to God under Kendrick's preaching in Cape Town. These supplied the nucleus of a congregation and Society, which grew with the growth of the town. In due time Shaw made Grahamstown, raised to be the capital of the Province, his headquarters and the centre of Methodism in the country. So completely had Grahamstown grown up under his pastoral care, that he remarked on one occasion : " There is not a house in that town in which I have not had the opportunity of offering prayer." In 1837 Methodist work in Grahamstown culminated in a great descent of spiritual power on the community ; Mrs. Shaw writes at that time : " Such a blessed revival of religion we never expected to see. The Lord is saving sinners by whole families . . . the whole town is astonished."

Soon after this, the exodus of the Boers (*see* p. 84) left large agricultural areas vacant between Albany and Cape Town. These properties were in many instances bought up by Albany Methodists, who thus spread their Church's influence over the central part of the Colony. By the time William Shaw retired from South Africa, in 1856, Grahamstown had become the head of a colonial and missionary organization—the " Albany, Kaffraria, and Bechuana District "—which extended far across the Orange River northwards, and north-eastwards to the borders of Natal. In this vast field, although our work just then was greatly depressed (*see* p. 91), nearly 30 Missionaries were employed, and more than 3,600 souls (English and Native) were united in Church fellowship. A solid foundation had been laid for the Methodism of South Africa.

William, like Barnabas Shaw, regarded himself above everything else as a missionary to the heathen. Steadily and skilfully he directed the energies of his Colonial Churches toward this object. The native peoples in and around the Colony included Hottentots, to whom the Namaquas of the north-west were akin (*see* p. 80) ; Kafirs from beyond the Great Fish River, occupying the country between the Drakensberg mountains and the sea ; Bechuanas, belonging with the Kafirs to the great

Bantu stock, and dwelling to the west of the Drakensberg ; and Fingos, a nation made up from remnants of tribes of various origin, who in large numbers took refuge in the Colony, and outside of it were in servitude to Kafir masters. Converts from these various races were received and provided for in the Colonial Churches. In course of time special institutions were founded for their benefit. Two industrial farm-schools were established—the first near Salem, for training farmers and schoolmasters amongst the Fingos and Kafirs ; the second at Haslope Hills on the northern border of the Colony, where emancipated slaves were gathered. These establishments proved successful economically as well as religiously, and earned public commendation.

But William Shaw's chief service to South Africa has still to be described. From the first his heart went out toward the heathen hinterland. A few months after his arrival he writes home from Salem : " This station will be the key to Kafirland. . . . I hope the recent turbulent spirit of the people will soon subside, and then should wish to see a Wesleyan Missionary ready to take advantage of the opportunity. . . . The time might soon follow, when you would see on your lists stations among the various tribes of people between us and Delagoa Bay. . . . With the exception of Latakoo* . . . there is not a single Missionary Station between my residence and the northern extremity of the Red Sea ! " Then Africa was the Dark Continent indeed ! Shaw conceived the plan of a chain of stations stretching from the Colony along the coast-country of Kaffraria right through to Natal. " His belief was that a number of Christian fortresses, within easy distance of each other, would enable peaceable excursions to be made into the surrounding heathenism." This vision he lived to realise.

Shaw was officially the chaplain of the Salem settlement ; and the Cape Governor would have kept him to his duties there. The Albany colony had been designed to serve as a buffer to the English Province, fending off the predatory Kafirs ; this object, the Government held, would be best served by drawing a cordon along the frontier and avoiding all communication—a policy which meant the prohibition of missions. This veto was, however, soon removed ; and in 1823 William Shaw was able to take his first journey of exploration.

The Kafirs were altogether a more vigorous and capable folk than the Namaquas of the western country (*see* pp. 180-83). While

* More correctly, *Kuruman*, the L.M.S. Station where Robert Moffat laboured for forty years among the Bechuanas.

their chief substance was in cattle, they had risen to the agricultural stage, and were masters of simple tools and weapons of wrought iron. They raised corn and maize, and their fields bound them to fixed domiciles. The climate was more genial, and the population denser than on the western coast. But incessant wars decimated and impoverished the tribes, while the universal tyranny of witchcraft made life fearful and insecure.

The Ama-Xosa Kafirs, the eastern neighbours of Albany, were divided into the Gaikas, the inland hill-people, and the Gcalekas dwelling along the coast. Beyond these latter were ranged the Tembus; beyond these again, the Pondos; still further north-east, the Zulus; while north of the Zulus lay Swaziland. The L.M.S. was at work amongst the Gaikas; Shaw turned his attention to the Gcalekas. Accompanied by William Shepstone and an interpreter, in the spring of 1823 he travelled on horseback a hundred miles east from Grahamstown, reaching the kraal of Pato, chief of a Gcaleka clan, with whom he arranged for planting a mission amongst his people. He returned to set the undertaking on foot. The plan was stoutly opposed by his colonial friends, alarmed by its dangers and smarting, besides, under a recent Kafir inroad. He hesitated for a while, until—as in the case of his namesake Barnabas (p. 79)—the issue was decided by Mrs. Shaw, who said to him: "You have long prayed for this opening; you stand pledged to the chiefs. The conduct of the natives only shows how much they need the Gospel. We shall be under the Divine protection. Let us go, in the name of the Lord!"

Leaving others in charge at Salem and Grahamstown, Shaw and Shepstone with their families, accompanied by native drivers and interpreters, set out for Pato's town, making their way through forests and over fords hitherto untracked by waggon-wheels. Accustomed to be treated as outlaws and visited only by punitive expeditions or patrols in pursuit of stolen cattle, the Kafirs were amazed to see white men come to them in peaceful guise, trusting not only their own lives but their wives and children to those who had been their fiercest enemies, and to learn that they did this for the love of Jesus Christ and of Kafir souls! A profound impression was made on the native mind.

Pato never became a Christian, though for long he befriended the Mission. But his younger brother, Kama, who became chief of the Christian part of the tribe, proved a noble and exemplary Kafir Christian. For eleven years (1838–49) Kama's people were left without a pastor; and he served them, like Melchizedek,

for priest as well as king. At the end of that time he reported a well-disciplined Society of fifty members. " When God's word came to Kama," they said, " he held out his hand, and the word fell right into the middle of it ; and he has held it fast ever since." This first in William Shaw's chain of Kafir stations was called Wesleyville, and worthily sustained the name. Three times Wesleyville was demolished in the Kafir wars : on the third demolition it was not rebuilt ; for the decimated Ama-Xosas had migrated, and their land was assigned to British settlers.

In a couple of years Shaw was able to advance from Wesleyville to the town of the powerful chief Ndlambe, where he fixed his second station, 40 miles east of Pato's town, naming the new post Mount Coke. Said the aged and blind Ndlambe, on the missionary's coming : " Like wolves and dogs we have been hid in dark places ; but now we are called men, and see the light. A hundred oxen have been offered for my head ; and now I am prayed for ! I never expected to see this ! " Twice Mount Coke was destroyed ; after its second rebuilding, in 1847, the station became very prosperous. It was here that John W. Appleyard, with indomitable patience, produced his Kafir grammar and school-books, finally his great translation of the Bible.

The next step forward brought the Mission 70 miles beyond Mount Coke northwards to the seat of Hintza, paramount chie of the Gcalekas, known as the " Great Bull " ; Butterworth was its Methodist name. William J. Shrewsbury, the victim of the Barbados riot of 1823 (*see* p. 55), was posted here ; all his courage and experience were in requisition. Hintza patronised the Mission, but remained an obstinate heathen—capricious and violent besides. Hearing of the baptism of some Fingo slaves, he shouted in rage : " How dare Ayliff throw water on my dogs ! I will make him take it off, and then I will kill them ! " Amongst the down-trodden Fingos round Butterworth the Gospel triumphed. In 1835, after the first Kafir war, they were liberated by the Government, to the number of 16,000. John Ayliff (*see* p. 85) led them from the house of bondage to a new home near Fort Peddie, Christianized them, and trained them into efficient farmers ; ultimately it came about, in 1866, that the once Fingo slaves were put in possession of the lands of their old masters. Meanwhile the Great Bull had fallen, caught in the net of his own treachery ; his son Kreli played fast and loose with Christianity, to his undoing ; at last in 1904 the shattered residue of Hintza's royal clan bowed the knee to Christ. Thrice Butterworth was burnt down by the heathen, and thrice restored.

Since the return of the Fingos it has remained the centre of a wide and fruitful Circuit.

In 1829 William Shepstone (*see* p. 88) was installed amongst a tribe of Pondos, at a spot 60 miles north-east of Butterworth and near the sea—the fourth link in Shaw's " chain "—which took the name of Morley. Depa, the chief of this people, was born of a white woman who had been shipwrecked on the coast. Disturbed by the Zulus, Depa's clan crossed the Umtata River westwards, and the Mission migrated with them to a new Morley. Shepstone, and subsequently Samuel Palmer, won good fruit amongst Depa's people, who were particularly susceptible of education. But the war of 1850 made havoc of this Mission.

After Morley came Clarkebury, fifth in the succession, founded in 1830 and situated 50 miles north of Butterworth, in Tembuland. Richard Haddy, who had laboured amongst the Namaquas (*see* p. 85), took charge of this station. Joseph C. Warner, Haddy's assistant and successor, acquired a perfect mastery of the Tembu dialect, and an extraordinary influence over the tribe. Ultimately Warner became British Resident in Tembuland, but gave two able sons to missionary service. The Clarkebury Circuit witnessed two martyrdoms in its Mission-staff: that of a Lay Agent, named Rawlins, killed by a savage horde whose path he crossed in travelling; and of James Stewart Thomas, Superintendent in 1856, who was struck down at night, probably by mistake, in a native mêlée which he was trying to stop.

Sixth in the chain, and simultaneously with Clarkebury, Buntingville was occupied, at a point 70 miles north of Morley, in the midst of another and larger division of the Pondos. The chief of this tribe was Faku—a handsome fellow, who counted as a Kafir wit. Harassed by the Zulus, Faku said to Mr. Shaw on his first visit: " Make haste, and let a missionary come. You talk of peace: it is good! We are tired of war—tired of prowling about like wild beasts, or being hunted like game! " Evidently a preparation for the Gospel had been going on here.

At Buntingville, in 1830, William B. Boyce began his famous missionary course (*see* pp. 31, 142). He discovered the Euphonic Concord, which supplied the missing clue to the structure of the Kafir dialects, and by his *Grammar*, published in 1833, set the study of the language on a scientific basis.

In 1844, when the British Colony of Natal had been established, and a check thus given to Zulu ravages, Faku moved 40 miles north-eastwards, across the St. John River; and the Mission was consequently extended to Palmerton—as the new station

was called, after Samuel Palmer (*see* p. 90), who had recently died much lamented.

Boyce's successor was Thomas Jenkins, a man of rare sincerity and selflessness, of ready speech and versatile dexterity, under whose training the Pondos marvellously improved. Visiting him in 1855, William Shaw testifies : " I do not know one missionary station belonging to any Society, in which neatness, comfort, and good order are equal to what I witnessed at Palmerton." Though Faku never accepted baptism, there was a hearty friendship between Mr. Jenkins and himself ; he would advise a new missionary coming on the ground : " You must say exactly what Jenkins says, and do exactly what Jenkins does ! "

With the planting of Buntingville William Shaw's chain of Stations was complete, only wanting its northern terminus (*see* pp. 87, 93) in Natal. It was well that this line of forts had been constructed quickly in days of peace. Soon the tide of war, in three successive floods, swept over the land ; but the chain was never destroyed ; these stations reappeared when the flood passed, and furnished rallying centres for the Church and civilisation. They were the backbone of Methodism in Kafirland.

The years running from 1823–33 were a time of visitation for the South African peoples ; Kaffraria seemed ready to stretch out her hands to God. Large assemblies flocked round the missionaries ; wild barbarians bowed to the yoke of Christ ; cattle-raiding was stopped, and the whole moral tone of the Kafir tribes began to rise. Alas, the blossom of that spring-time was dashed ere it came to fruit. The series of wars recurring through the years 1834–52 scattered the half-taught congregations, destroyed mission-property and broke up the mission-staff. It ruined some of the most promising Kafir tribes, and made the rest sullen and suspicious ; for the time, it extinguished the missionary zeal of the colonists. As the long storm passed over and the missionaries began to recover heart, there came the chill of diminished support from England (*see* p. 212), just when increased help was needed for the work of restoration. The murder of Mr. Thomas at Clarkebury (*see* p. 90) put a climax on the misfortunes of the Mission. At this crisis the veteran leader, William Shaw, was compelled to quit the field (1856).*

But the darkest hour brings in the dawn. Thomas's death

* Mr. Shaw spent some ten years happily in English Circuits after his return home. He was President of the British Conference in 1865, and died in 1872. He had also sojourned in England earlier, for a period of three years, from 1833–36.

touched British sympathy ; in 1857 a reinforcement of four new missionaries arrived. In the same year the pride of the Ama-Xosa Kafirs was broken through a suicidal mania of superstition, which led them to slaughter their cattle and leave their fields unsown. Almost in a day that proud people sank from affluence to destitution ; " they had rejected the Gospel, and judgment fell upon them, with a shock that was felt from one end of Kaffraria to the other." At the same date Sir George Grey assumed the Governorship of the Colony, inaugurating a wiser native policy : missionary enterprise was encouraged, industrial training promoted ; the Kafirs responded to considerate treatment. From this epoch our missions in the eastern district revived. The reconstruction took place upon William Shaw's undestroyed foundations, under the Chairmanship of his son-in-law, William Impey. The stations occupied in the course of the renewed advance were developed as branches and side-tracks along the line of occupation which William Shaw had marked out thirty years earlier.

* * * * *

Barnabas Shaw had worked along the western coast, William along the eastern. By a third line of invasion, our Mission pushed northwards from Cape Colony into the interior table-land. Shortly before William Shaw crossed the Great Fish River into the lowlands east of the Drakensberg, Stephen Kay, exploring from the Cape, came into contact with the Bechuanas to the north-west of that range ; he returned, with broken health, in 1821. In the same year Samuel Broadbent and his wife travelled hither across the desert from Lilyfontein in the west (*see* p. 81), enduring the severest hardships ; they were joined on the way by Mr. and Mrs. Hodgson (*see* p. 83) coming from the south. On crossing the Vaal River, the missionary party came unexpectedly upon the Baralong (a Bechuana tribe), with their chief Sifonello, to whom they had been directed, and found them fleeing before the Mantatees—themselves driven southwards by the still fiercer Matabele (*see* p. 209). The time seemed unfavourable ; but Broadbent and Hodgson persevered, and followed the friendly Baralong to Makwassi, near the present town of Klerksdorp (Transvaal), where they now settled. Here they were joined by Peter Links, the Namaqua evangelist (*see* p. 82), who had come from the far west missioning the Korannas, a Hottentot tribe kindred to his own.

The Baralong were a gentler people than the Kafirs, and more

readily accepted the Gospel. The missionaries initiated them into wheat-growing; their delight with the first plough was unbounded: "See how the thing tears up the ground with its mouth," they said; "it is of more value than five wives!"* A yet greater boon was the art of digging wells, which the missionaries taught them—an accomplishment which greatly diminished the prestige of the "rain-making" wizards.

Broadbent retreated in 1825 through physical breakdown; and in 1829 Hodgson left Bechuanaland through failure of his wife's health,—not before he had planted the Gospel among the (Hottentot) Griquas at Boetsap, fifty miles east of the Baralong. These two were succeeded by James Archbell (*see* p. 82) and John Edwards—the latter a man of the highest competence—under whom the work, so well begun, was well continued.

In 1825 the Baralong were expelled from their new home at Makwassi. They found a refuge at Plaatberg, not far from (the later) Kimberley. Once more migration was forced upon this hard-driven people—this time through scarcity of water; Archbell and Edwards, like another Moses and Aaron, led the tribe and their allies—12,000 strong—a ten days' journey, with flocks and herds, across the veldt to Thaba 'Nchu (Orange River State), a well-chosen spot, where at last they found rest from their wanderings. Thaba 'Nchu became the centre of a widely extended and spiritually fruitful mission amongst Bechuanas, Griquas, Mantatees, and other neighbouring tribes. A German scientist passing through the district some time later, exclaimed as he viewed the native Churches: "Why, this is primitive Christianity! this is as it was on the day of Pentecost! I never saw the like before!" So mightily grew the word of God, and prevailed. The years of gloom in Kaffraria were, for the most part, years of peace and progress in Bechuanaland. This land had its dark days to come (*see* pp. 204–206).

The Bechuana District assumed a separate status in 1836. From 1837–51 it was presided over by James Cameron, a Scotchman worthy of his Covenanting name. From 1852–63 it was re-united with the Albany and Kaffraria District.

* * * * *

Natal was embraced in William Shaw's original plans; the Missionary Society contemplated its occupation so early as 1829,

* Field-work was a servile and feminine occupation in the eyes of Kafirs and Bechuanas; fighting, hunting, and cattle-tending were the proper business of the man. This sentiment was a factor in South African polygamy.

while the region was purely Zulu territory. The first missionary appointment, however, was not made until 1841. By this time English traders had settled at the port of Durban, and Dutch farmers were filtèring into the district through the mountains on the west. The Boers speedily came into conflict with the natives, and a detachment of British troops was sent to keep order in 1842. With them travelled the missionary Archbell (p. 82), who was on excellent terms with the Dutch. But these latter could not brook the presence of the British force ; in the struggle that ensued they were overpowered, and Natal was proclaimed a British colony.

Archbell was joined by William C. Holden, who here began his long and distinguished ministry, devoting himself mainly to evangelizing the natives round Durban. James Allison did noble work among the Swazis to the north-west. He brought down to the Colony a company of refugees, planting them at Indaleni. This Swazi settlement has produced a number of the finest characters and ablest native helpers Methodism has known in South Africa. The Natal District was detached from Kaffraria in 1850, with Horatio Pearse for its Chairman.

The Methodist Mission was the first to enter Natal ; for many years the humble Wesleyan Chapels of Durban and Maritzburg furnished the only houses of worship for English residents. A large influx of immigrants entered the Colony in 1849–51, including a goodly contingent of Methodists, whose influence has been a chief factor in the building up of the Natalian Church. The period we are engaged upon closed with a rich outpouring of the Spirit of God at Maritzburg in 1857, resembling that witnessed at Grahamstown twenty years earlier (p. 86), which formed a spiritual epoch in the history of the Colony.

CHAPTER VIII

The Islands of the South Seas

The *Voyages* of Captain James Cook (1768–79) first supplied a definite map of Oceania and revealed the condition of its peoples. The islanders attracted the missionary sympathies born of the Evangelical movement ; the spirit of Christian adventure, then running so high, found in Polynesia an inviting field. The London

Missionary Society (*see* p. 100) sent out its first expedition (1797) to the South Sea Islands, with tragic and yet glorious results.

The work of Methodism in Polynesia commenced thirty years later, and grew out of the mission to the colonists of New South Wales (*see* p. 47); Australia furnished the basis for Methodist operations in the Pacific. Working from this centre, our missionaries sought the Australian Aborigines, the Maoris of New Zealand, the Friendly Islanders, with their kinsmen the Samoans, and the Fijians.

Australia and Tasmania

We must begin with an acknowledgment of failure. The indigenous Australians are the most degraded of human creatures, and amongst the worst-used. Driven from their haunts by the convict-colonists, half-starved and plied with intoxicants, initiated into undreamed-of vices, shot down when troublesome like dangerous beasts, their misery in the early colonial times can never be told. They have disappeared from the more cultivated parts of the continent, but still roam through its central and northern regions; the hope of their salvation is not wholly abandoned. Efforts were made almost from the beginning by humane Governors and Chaplains to win these hapless tribes; but lack of means and appliances, or of patience and skill in the agents employed, above all the baneful influence of vicious colonists, doomed these attempts to failure. Individuals and small groups have been converted; but no considerable body of the aborigines has been touched by Christianity or education; the Australian proper remains an untamable nomad, at the lowest level of intelligence and of subsistence. The most sustained effort on our part for the salvation of the mainland natives was made by Francis Tuckfield (1836–48)—"an able, zealous, and indefatigable missionary"—who occupied a station amongst them named Buntingdale, in the Colony of Victoria. For a time he made encouraging progress, but only to see his people decrease with frightful rapidity through contact with the colonists, until the remnant of them removed out of reach.

In Tasmania a Methodist settler of the name of Robinson set himself to seek and save the aborigines, and gained such influence with them that he was called "the Conciliator." But his mission terminated in 1835, when the Government, after fruitless expenditure of money and military effort, succeeded by Robinson's help in getting the bulk of the savages together and deporting them to Flinders Island, where the last of the race died in 1877 (*comp.* pp. 48, 143, 145).

New Zealand

The Maoris are a comparatively vigorous and intelligent people. Samuel Marsden, the philanthropic Sydney chaplain (*see* p. 46), in 1814 sent a couple of artisan missionaries to the Bay of Islands (in the North Island) to pave the way for Christianity. The Methodist Missionary Samuel Leigh (*see* p. 47) visited this settlement in 1818, and saw the need of supplying Christian teaching, as well as Christian example, to the heathen. Returning to England shortly afterwards, he pleaded the cause of the Polynesians, and offered himself for service in New Zealand. The Missionary Committee could not promise the funds required; but it allowed Leigh to ask for *goods*, to be used in barter; and goods were sent to him in quantities sufficient to maintain the New Zealand Mission for five years. He returned to fulfil his heart's desire.

Leigh's visit to England coincided with that of a Maori chief named Hongi, brought over under the auspices of the C.M. Society, who made a favourable impression by his fine presence and dignified behaviour. Leigh interested himself greatly in Hongi, and rendered him all the service in his power. No sooner had the Maori reached home than he threw off his peaceful character, bartered for fire-arms the presents received in England, and set on foot a savage war which lasted for five years. "We must observe our country's customs," said Hongi, replying to remonstrances; "and the blood of Hinaki [the rival chief] was sweet!"

Under such conditions, early in 1822, Samuel Leigh and his newly-married wife arrived at New Zealand. They received a warm welcome from the C.M.S. Missionaries and the Bay of Islands natives. But access to the neighbouring heathen depended on Hongi's good-will, who replied to the missionary's request: "Mr. Leigh, I have a grateful recollection of your kindness to me when I was in your country; I will not suffer a hand to touch you—Hongi has said it! But, to be plain with you, since you stand in the way of our obtaining muskets and powder, we New Zealanders hate both your worship and your God!" The one alleviation of the havoc wrought by this war was the fact that Hongi's prisoners, sent down as slaves to the Bay of Islands, in their misery yielded to the influence of Christian compassion; these men in after years carried the Gospel far and wide through the country.

For a few months Leigh remained at the C.M. station, reconnoitring the coast and learning the language. James Stack came

to assist him from New South Wales, along with Luke Wade, a retired sailor, who assisted as man-of-all-work. In July the little Methodist band established itself at a lovely spot 12 miles up the river from Wangaroa Bay, which they named Wesleydale. Incessant rains, falling before adequate shelter could be secured, brought Leigh to death's door through fever ; this sickness left in his frame seeds of life-long suffering. The war continued to rage, teaching him, as he writes, " the necessity of living above the fear of death." The miasma of European wickedness had penetrated to this remote spot, and proved his worst hindrance. " What ! " shouted a chief one day, in answer to Leigh's appeals, " you talk to me of crime and cruelty ! I have been in New South Wales, and witnessed the amusements, the drunkenness and riot of white men. They curse, they steal, they kill : go and teach your countrymen your religion ! "

The natives, watching keenly, saw another type of life exhibited in the purity, gentleness, and constant prayers of their new neighbours. Mrs. Leigh induced the girls to learn sewing ; presents of babies' frocks made by their hands checked infanticide, through the pride awakened in the mothers over their decorated offspring. The harvest gathered from a wheat-plot sown by the missionaries' hands, stirred respect and emulation. Evidently, there were tastes and capacities in these natures which could be wrought upon for good.

In August of the next year reinforcements arrived—Nathaniel Turner with wife and maid, William White, and John Hobbs. Mr. Marsden crossed from Sydney with this party ; he was delighted at the progress of Wesleydale, but distressed at his friend's physical condition. The latter he carried off to the Colony for medical treatment ; and Leigh, though surviving nearly thirty years, was never permitted to return to New Zealand.

Three years longer the post of Wesleydale was held, with Turner in command, the missionaries mastering the language while they taught the children and gathered occasional congregations, under constant alarms, until in January 1827 Hongi's army burst in upon them. The mission-families, including three little children, escaped during the pillage, and after a terrible march through the enemy's country reached the C.M.S. station. Wesleydale was wrecked ; for the present the Mission was at an end. But impressions had been made, and seed sown, that could not be lost.

The Turners were transferred to Tonga (*see* p. 100) ; Stack, along with Mr. and Mrs. Hobbs, ventured back to New Zealand six months after the fall of Wesleydale ; White speedily rejoined

them. The new beginning was made at Mangungu in the Hokianga district, situated 50 miles westwards of the Bay of Islands toward the opposite coast, where Patuone held sway, a chief who had aided the flight from Wesleydale. On this spot the Gospel took root; and the work spread, slowly at first but surely, along the west coast.* Hongi fell in battle in 1828, and the war ceased. In 1831 the first Maori Society Class was formed, and a widespread movement toward Christianity took place; distant chiefs petitioned for missionary teachers. The Spirit of God was manifestly at work, and the prosperity of the mission-stations afforded an object-lesson which could not be mistaken. Ten years earlier fire-arms formed the only acceptable medium of trade with the natives; now they were bartering their muskets for blankets and tools. Schoolbooks could not be provided fast enough for the demand.

In 1835 Nathaniel Turner was re-appointed to N.Z., with three colleagues—this field had for some years constituted a separate District; from that time onwards conversions were frequent, and rapid extension ensued. When in the years 1841–42 the Bible Society made a munificent gift of Maori New Testaments to the Islands, the Wesleyans obtained 10,000 copies—a number insufficient for the eager applicants. Cannibalism and open idolatry were almost things of the past.

As the condition of the country improved, British immigration set in. This was encouraged by the Home Government because of the suitability of the soil and climate for English colonists, and with a view to overpower the lawless white adventurers. This influx multiplied the missionaries' tasks, and divided their care between the natives and their fellow-countrymen. Difficult questions of government arose; and in 1840 the Maori chiefs, most of them now Christian and acting under missionary guidance, yielded the sovereignty of the islands by treaty to Queen Victoria. The land-greed of the settlers caused a long and bitter struggle for native rights, in which the Missionary Society helped the cause of justice. The clash of alien modes of life bore hardly on the Maori people, exposed both to physical and moral diseases which their constitution was ill-adapted to meet. There is now hope that a considerable remnant of this fine race will survive. Their decrease has been arrested.

* A friendly division was made between the Anglicans and Wesleyans, the former undertaking to evangelize the east coast of the island and the latter the west. The co-operation of the two Societies continued until 1841.

However this may prove, a marvellous and happy change came about for the Maori generation that witnessed the landing of Marsden and Leigh upon their shores. John Whiteley, a N.Z. Missionary for twenty years, thus writes in 1854, contrasting present with earlier scenes: "Then they were either constantly at war, or preparing for it; now they are quietly cultivating the soil, and with occasional exceptions, arising out of conflicting claims to the land, there is universal peace. Then cannibalism was practised to a fearful extent; now no such atrocity is heard of. Then they were regarded as thieves and liars; now our merchants entrust them with goods on credit to the amount of thousands of pounds." But there was another side to the shield, and he continues: "Then they had faults purely Maori; now they have faults both Maori and English . . . Colonisation has produced excitement and industry; also avarice and dissipation." In the Government, and in the worthier colonists, the Maoris have had sincere friends, who seek to protect them from wrong and shield them from temptation; there are few colonies where the relations between the rulers and the native people have been upon the whole so friendly, and so fairly conducted, as in New Zealand.

At the time of the transference of the Maori Mission to the Australasian Conference (1855), the New Zealand population was estimated at about 90,000 natives and 26,000 whites. Of the former, nine-tenths were reputed to be Christians, belonging to the Wesleyan, Anglican, Lutheran, and Romans communions. Three-fourths of the adult native population were able to read, and two-thirds to write their own language correctly. The Methodist Church-membership for the islands amounted to 4,100.

The Friendly Islands

Twenty degrees north of New Zealand, and about 200 miles apart in the South Pacific, lie the Friendly and Fijian Islands, whose story forms the most romantic chapter in the tale of Methodist Missions. The peoples inhabiting these two archipelagoes are of different type: both races are tall, well-built, and active; but the Fijian is darker in colour, with a physiognomy of negroid cast, while the Friendly Islander approximates to the Malayan. The Tongans of a hundred years ago were the "hardy Norsemen" of Polynesia, navigating their double canoes which seated sometimes 150 people, with consummate skill through the stormy and reef-strewn Polynesian seas. The Fijians,

on the other hand, were poor sailors and had little trade, but excelled in the domestic arts—housebuilding, cord-plaiting, and pottery. While the religion of both rested on the basis of animism and wizardry common to savage peoples, the Tongans fashioned numerous idols; the Fijians had none. The social life of the Friendly Islands stood on a higher level—their *name* records the favourable estimate formed of the people by the first English navigators; war amongst them, though frequent, was not incessant, and arms were laid aside in time of peace; cannibalism was here occasional, while in Fiji it was habitual. The two peoples were useful to each other and had considerable inter course, the fierce Fijians holding in respect the talents of their neighbours.

The Friendly Islands include three small groups, Tonga*, Vavau, and Haabai, the two former named from their largest islands. As elsewhere in Polynesia, Christ's pioneers were the London Society's missionaries, who established themselves on Tonga in 1797, but were driven away after three years of pitiable suffering and ill-usage. They left their mark upon the native memory. Samuel Leigh's appeal made to English Methodism resulted in the sending of Walter Lawry to Tonga (*see* p. 47) in 1822, accompanied by two artisan helpers. He was little more successful than his predecessors of the L.M.S., and was forced to retreat at the end of the next year. Subsequently, a couple of L.M.S. converts from Tahiti settled in Nukualofa, the capital of Tonga. Their preaching, though in broken Tongese, proved wonderfully effective: they built a church, gathered a congregation of 300 people, and won the favour of the King, Tubou (afterwards, by baptism, Josiah). A second attempt was made by the W.M.M.S. in 1826, sending John Thomas (from England) and John Hutchinson (from N.S.W.), with their wives, who fixed their station at Hihifo, some distance from the chief town of Tonga. They fared at first no better than Lawry before them. A despairing letter addressed to the N.S.W. District Synod, brought to their help Nathaniel and Mrs. Turner (already seasoned in New Zealand, *see* p. 97) and William and Mrs. Cross, whose arrival saved the situation. The newcomers took up their post at Nukualofa, where the Tahitians had prepared the way.

Events now took a sudden and surprising turn. Thirty years earlier there had been born in Haabai a prince, by name Taufa-ahau, who was destined to play an illustrious part in Tongan history. While tributary to Tubou of Tonga, Taufa-ahau

* *Tonga* has given its name to the whole archipelago

was the Achilles amongst Friendly Island chieftains; his character showed a rude Homeric grandeur. Here was "a soul naturally Christian." Taufa-ahau was on excellent terms with his suzerain, and frequently visited Nukualofa. The new worship and teaching at Tubou's town fascinated him. The Spirit of God wrought in Taufa-ahau mightily. On returning home, he forsook his idols and discarded many heathen customs. His next step (in 1828) was to send to Mr. Turner for a teacher of the *lotu* (the native name for Christianity). Impatient of delay, the king commandeered a rough, ungodly English sailor, thrown by chance on his coasts, to read prayers in a house set apart for the purpose; the sailor taught the natives letters by tracing characters on the sea-sand.

When Peter Vi, a Tongan teacher, was assigned him by Mr. Turner in the following year, Taufa-ahau was affronted: "Only a Tongan man!" said he; "how should the people of Haabai pay heed to his religion?" But an awful storm met the returning canoes; and the king, interpreting this as a rebuke from the Christians' God, repented of his anger and begged for Peter's services. Some of the Haabai folk embraced the *lotu;* the king learnt to read and, though not yet a professed believer, became (as Peter Vi put it) "very mischievous" to the gods. His heathen subjects taking alarm, and plots against him being on foot, the king summoned his retainers to a great feast prepared by the Christians, at which he publicly declared his faith in Jesus Christ and, adding deeds to words, dashed in pieces his idols and pulled down their houses before the eyes of the assembly. In a few weeks, fifteen out of the eighteen islands under Taufaahau's jurisdiction had renounced idolatry.

This happened in 1830. John Thomas, who at Stony Hihifo had accomplished little hitherto beyond learning the language, was transferred to Lifuka, the Haabaian capital. Just then King Finau of Vavau paid a State visit to King George (as we shall now call Taufa-ahau), and the Haabai chiefs assembled to meet him. George fell dangerously ill. The enemies of the *lotu* expected his death, and some miscreant, to make sure, administered a dose of poison. The helpless king was rescued from the hands of the heathen through the arrival of a powerful Christian chief; Mr. Thomas applied remedies, which proved effectual. But for some hours his life was in suspense: "All the Christian chiefs, and ourselves," writes Peter Vi, "met to pray for him. No Christian slept that night. As daylight approached, a wailing sound was heard. We thought the king

was gone ; but we soon learnt it was a cry of joy from his sister, because he was better ! The Lord had heard our prayer, and blessed the medicine." The event powerfully affected the great concourse of islanders gathered at this meeting of the kings ; Haabai was won for Christ.

The missionary was now overwhelmed with labour : " We that can speak the language," he reports, " are almost worn out in the work of the Lord ; and yet it is not done as we wish to see it." Peter Turner* and his wife, newly come from England, were sent to help the Thomases, not before Mr. Thomas had been prostrated by sickness ; the work still outpaced their efforts. In two months a church was built, for four hundred people ; carved spear-shafts supplied its communion-rails, and disused war-clubs decorated the pulpit-steps. King George, however, betrayed " the natural man " in his church-building ; mistaking the elevation of the pulpit as a claim of rank, he had a higher seat erected for His Majesty opposite ! The printing-press which arrived at Tonga, was a God-send ; books could now be supplied as fast as the people learnt to read.

King George in his turn visited Vavau (1831), with a number of Christian followers. Finau, the Vavau king, also recognised the superiority of Christian worship ; in 1828 he had written thus to Mr. Turner, by the hand of a shipwrecked sailor : " Sir, I am so glad to hear you are at Tongatabu, teaching my friend Tubou to know the great God. I hope, sir, you will be so kind as to send for missionaries to come to my island, to teach me and my people. . . . Be so kind, sir, as to go as quick about missionaries as time will allow. So no more from me, *A wicked sinner.*" No European being available, the services of a Tongan teacher were offered. Finau scorned the proposal and became, in his anger, more ostentatiously heathen, threatening fiercely those inclined to the *lotu*. The staunch fidelity of two of his subjects banished for this crime, and the scenes witnessed on the visit to Lifuka above related, told upon the king ; but for the time his enmity was exasperated.

King George's arrival changed the face of things. Already the people were half-persuaded ; and Finau at last yielded to his own growing convictions and the arguments of his brother

* Peter and Nathaniel Turner (*see* p. 100) were both Cheshiremen, but otherwise unrelated. The latter returned to New Zealand, and afterwards " travelled " in Australia ; but Peter laboured, with great efficiency, for twenty-three years in Tonga and Samoa, and was peculiarly beloved by the natives (*see* p. 104).

monarch. On the following Sunday public Christian worship was held, Peter Vi officiating; on Monday Finau, who did nothing by halves, ordered a wholesale destruction of idols and temples. For four days and nights incessantly, talking, reading, singing, praying went on, the Haabaians in George's company—barely enlightened themselves—imparting to the Vavauans all they knew of the great God. Before ever an English missionary set foot in Vavau, heathen worship was swept away. In the year 1833 Finau died, peacefully trusting in Christ. George was elected to succeed him, thus becoming ruler of two out of the three Friendly Island Groups.

But the conversion of the Tongans had been so far an outward and notional, rather than a deeply spiritual change. Realising this, Peter Turner and David Cargill (the latest recruit to the missionary staff—a gifted Scotsman and Aberdeen Master of Arts)—who were labouring at Vavau in 1834, agreed with a band of their converts to intercede daily for a baptism of the Holy Spirit. The answer came suddenly. A native Local Preacher was officiating in a little village chapel, when conviction of sin fell with overwhelming force upon himself and the hearers. The service was prolonged the night through. Village after village, island after island, caught the fire. It spread to Haabai, then to Tonga. "We have had a most glorious revival of religion," writes Turner, "such as I never either saw or read of. . . . The Lord has bowed the whole island to His sway"; similarly Charles Tucker, from Haabai: "There has been a most extraordinary outpouring of the Holy Spirit on this station. . . . I never saw or heard of anything equal to it." Then Thomas testifies, for Tonga: "A spirit of prayer and supplication was poured out . . . some nights the whole village has been heard to ring for hours together with the voice of prayer and praise." King George and Queen Charlotte were amongst the first to tremble before the new Power that was upon the people, and to rejoice in the pardoning love of God. Down came the royal throne opposite the pulpit in the church, never to be reared again! They released their slaves; they devoted themselves to study, and to the uplifting of their people. Both of them became useful Class-leaders; and the king qualified, by passing the proper examinations, for the Local Preachers' Plan.

In the Tonga group of islands, however, the Christians were still in a minority, and the revival roused the heathen to fury. War was forced on the Government; King George was summoned by Josiah (Tubou) to his help. The Christian leader's humanity

was as conspicuous in the protracted struggle, as his courage and military skill. The heathen forces were crushed; and the ascendancy of King George became so complete, that when his lord paramount died in 1845, he was raised to the Tongan throne as sovereign over the whole Friendly Islands. He substituted gradually a fixed legal system and constitutional Government for arbitrary royal administration and club-law. These reforms culminated in 1862 when, with imposing religious ceremonial, a Tongan Parliament was convened and a comprehensive and well-digested code of laws was published.* A nation had been built up, with a corporate life and public conscience, out of the wild and warring Tongan tribes.

That King George had a mind of his own was shown by his attitude toward Methodism in Samoa. In 1835 agents of the L.M.S. were at work here. But the close intercourse of the Samoans with the Friendly Islanders led the former to apply for a Methodist missionary; and in that year Peter Turner began his brief Samoan ministry, in the course of which he won numerous and devotedly attached converts. The L.M.S., however, claimed the first right to this field, and had appointed an English missionary to occupy it. On the discussion of the matter by the two Societies in England, the W.M.M.S. gave way and withdrew its missionary (in 1837). But the Samoan Methodists, by this time numbering 2,000, declined to be transferred. King George took their part; he visited Samoa several times to assist them, and sent them teachers from Tonga on his own responsibility. For twenty years Methodist worship continued in this isolated spot, without countenance or aid from the Missionary Society, until in 1857 the Australian Conference took the derelicts under its wing. In the end they were peacefully united to the Congregationalists.

Fiji

From Tonga, Fiji was easily reached; here Methodism had no rivals. The Fijian island of Lakemba affords a point of approach; Tongan sailors frequenting its harbour had often spoken of the *lotu*. Moreover, several Fijians visiting Tonga had been baptized amongst the early converts there. A missionary spirit was born of the revival of 1834 amongst the Tongans; their eyes, filled with the light of the Gospel, turned toward their heathen neighbours in Fiji. The next batch of Christians sailing to Lakemba resolved to make the Good News known in that island; the

* This interesting document is printed in full in the W.M.M.S. *Report* for 1863, pp. 205–15.

Tongan Church followed them with earnest prayers. The ensuing Friendly Islands Synod, although additional reapers were required for its own plenteous harvest, was moved to separate two of its number for service in Fiji. In October of the following year (1836) William Cross and David Cargill landed in Lakemba, with their wives and little children. From King George to the King of Lakemba they brought a present, and a hearty recommendation. The interval had been spent in the study of the Fijian language and the preparation of some simple printed books.

The Fijian group includes two main islands situated some distance westwards of Lakemba—Viti Levu and Vanua Levu—which are far larger and more populous than any of the Friendly Isles. The seas surrounding these are studded with islets; and the greater chiefs, for security, commonly lived on some small island adjoining that part of the mainland (of Viti or Vanua Levu) which they ruled. Off the coast of Viti Levu lies the tiny island of Mbau. With this spot is associated the name of Thakombau, the chief on whose conversion the Christianizing of Fiji turned, much as in the case of the Friendly Islands and King George. But the two rulers were men of very different type; and the conquest of Fiji was to prove a far harder task than that of Tonga.

Seru (Thakombau's name in boyhood) was the son of Tanoa, the powerful king of Mbau. The father was driven out in a local revolution instigated by Namosimalua, king of the adjoining island of Viwa. The victorious party would have killed Seru; but the under-chiefs, who saw in him a harmless youth, prevented this. Before long, under an air of innocence, Seru had craftily won over many of his father's enemies. Above all, he gained the friendship of Namosimalua's nephew, Verani, a youth of his own age, who grew later into "the perfect type of a Fijian warrior, excelling in heroic courage, brutal ferocity, and diabolic cruelty." One night the usurpers in Mbau awoke to find their houses in flames; they were compelled to flee. Tanoa returned in triumph, and held a cannibal feast on the bodies of such of his foes as had escaped the flames. This exploit won for Seru his name of Thakombau, Evil-to-Mbau.

William Cross arrived from Lakemba in the midst of the orgy, about the close of 1837. By this time the sub-king of Lakemba was disposed to *lotu*; he dared not do this, however, without the approval of the superior chiefs, and the work of the Mission had so far been only local. Thakombau welcomed the missionary; but Mr. Cross, under the circumstances, declined his hospitality, and withdrew to the mainland, where the King of Rewa received

him with some cordiality. In 1839 he paid Thakombau a second visit, but now found him offended, and therefore passed over to Viwa, hearing that Namosimalua was friendly to the *lotu*. This chief was the wily Ulysses of Fiji: "No one," writes John Watsford, "ever knew what he really meant. I have known him when kneeling in church cry most earnestly, 'Glory! Glory!' and, looking up, I have seen the old fellow watching me with the only eye he had, to observe what effect his devotion had on me." To all appearance Namosimalua became peaceable and teachable; he gave Mr. Cross free access to his people. Namosimalua's reputation for sagacity was such that his attitude widely affected Fijian opinion. Tanoa's behaviour towards his new neighbours was shifty; Thakombau and Verani, though they visited and conversed with the missionary, still firmly opposed the faith. But they became ashamed of cannibalism, and it declined in Mbau.

In 1842 William Cross died, worn out by fourteen years of heroic service, the last six spent amongst scenes of horror beyond description. John Hunt—the Lincolnshire ploughboy and saint—came to fill his place at Viwa; he had served a bitter apprenticeship in Somosomo (off the coast of Vanua Levu), the darkest spot in all dark Fiji. Here he had gained a thorough mastery of the language, and had done valuable work in translation. Progress was now steady in Viwa, whose people were uncommonly intelligent, until war broke out with Mbau, accompanied by the old atrocities.

About this time Verani was converted. He had requested to be taught to read. One day the lesson was the Passion-story. As they proceeded, his teacher was startled by a heavy sob. "Why did Jesus suffer all this?" asked the scholar; "For *you*," was the answer—"to *save* you!" "Then," came the quick response, "I am His! I'll give myself to Him." The "great transaction" was done! "If few men have ever sinned more deeply," says James Calvert, "no man ever repented more deeply!" Trembling, Verani reported what had happened to Thakombau, who sent word in reply that on the day he was baptized he should also be killed and eaten! For a while Verani hesitated; but Good Friday came round; the meaning of the celebration was explained to him; and he could not let the day pass without confessing the Lamb of God. "I fear you," was the message he sent to Thakombau announcing his resolve, "but I fear the great God very much more." He was baptized, in the sight of the people, by the name of Elijah.

Just too late a messenger came from Thakombau, asking his friend to wait, that he too might *lotu*. This was a transient impulse; but it betokened a misgiving that submission was inevitable. To Thakombau's chagrin, Verani would no longer join in his murderous raids. "Very good," said the chief, with humorous tolerance; "stay at home, and learn your book well!" Verani, however, could not be inactive; again and again he hazarded his life to prevent bloodshed. With a band of picked men, he rescued an American ship's company from cannibal clutches—he who had earned his name by massacring a French crew in his heathen days.* His life was lost (1853) in a vain endeavour to compose an inter-tribal feud.

At Viwa a revival took place in 1845, arising out of Verani's conversion, which so powerfully affected the town that "business, sleep, and food were almost laid aside." Thakombau's belief in heathenism was gone, and he delighted to see the trickery of the priests exposed; his barbarity was checked and his "hands tied," as he complained, by the spell of Christianity. But he was resolved to be absolute master of Fiji, and would not yield to the Prince of Peace with his martial ambitions unfulfilled. He was now incensed because his armies were depleted by the advance of Christianity. The death of John Hunt in 1848, whom with all his devilry Thakombau loved, for the time drove the anger from his heart†; and there were strong hopes of his conversion. Successive visits of British men-of-war, whose commanders were friendly to the missionaries and with whom Thakombau wished to stand well, helped in the right direction. The conflict in his mind was vividly expressed by his reply, given with high good humour to persecuted Christians seeking his aid: "When I ask you *lotu*-people to help me in war, you say, 'No, it is not right for Christians to fight'; and here we are breaking our backs, and catching dysentery, and being shot in great numbers, while you sit quietly at home! Now you have a fight of your own, and I am glad of it. Besides, I *hate* your Christianity! But," he added in quieter mood, "I know that it is true and the work of God, and that we shall all become Christians." His favourite son was put under missionary instruction.

For all this, "the old man" was still strong in Thakombau. At Mbau, his capital, he would allow no mission-station. Here

* *Verani* is Fijian for *France*.

† Years afterwards, Thakombau confessed that he had never been able to shake off the impression made on him by Hunt's solicitude for his conversion.

in 1849 a cannibal feast took place, held to gratify some heathen guests. The missionaries' wives (Mrs. Calvert and Mrs. Lyth*) were alone at Viwa when the report reached them; but these brave women immediately set out to Mbau (two miles across the water) in hope of stopping the butchery. The old king Tanoa was confounded by their appearance; he replied to their plea: "Those who are dead, are dead; but those who are alive, shall live"—five out of the fourteen victims were saved.

Tanoa's death, in 1852, brought another crisis. Would Thakombau obey the sacred heathen custom by strangling his father's wives? The missionary Watsford (*see* p. 147) was there to prevent, if possible, the horrid ceremony; he offered all that he possessed—even the mutilation of his own body—for the redemption of the unhappy women. Again there was a compromise: "They are not many," said Thakombau—"only five; but for you missionaries, there would have been twenty-five!" The King was full of gloom; he was consciously fighting against God, and seemed further than ever from the *lotu*.

Now reverses befell him. His insolence involved him in conflict with foreigners; heavy taxation alienated his people; a band of white abettors of his crimes turned against him; his ancient rival, the king of Rewa, rebelled. His bosom friend, Verani, died (*see* p. 107), and sore sickness came upon himself. Throughout these troubles Joseph Waterhouse and his wife, who had recently received grudging permission to reside as missionaries at Mbau, at the peril of their lives stood by Thakombau; and Calvert in Viwa watched daily for the signal that should bring him to the king's help. Calamity had broken the chief's proud spirit; he was overcome by the faithfulness of the Christian friends who had endured so long his saturnine humours. On April 30th, 1854, Thakombau publicly professed the *lotu*; little by little its meaning penetrated his darkened mind, and his sins weighed upon him more than his misfortunes.

In January, 1855, the sudden death of the hostile king of Rewa changed the current of affairs. Before the malcontents had found another leader, King George of Tonga visited the islands; reluctantly he was drawn into the war, which his generalship brought to a speedy termination. Seventy towns returned to their allegiance to Mbau; clemency was shown to the rebels.

* Wife of Richard Burdsall Lyth, pastor, scholar, and physician, whose Fijian name meant "carpenter of illness." He served in the Islands for eighteen years (1836–54), and was "one of the grandest missionaries God ever gave to our Fiji Mission."

The Missionaries' Wives, on their way to stop a cannibal feast.

The treatment of the women and children had been the grimmest feature of Fijian warfare ; the gentleness of the Tongan allies in this respect softened the Fijians everywhere.

Official hindrances being now withdrawn, the *lotu* spread swiftly ; a new conscience made itself felt in Fiji. In January, 1857, Thakombau publicly married his principal wife, after making due provision for the rest ; he was then admitted to baptism. " It must have cost him a struggle to stand up before the flower of his people to confess his former sins. In time past he had considered himself a god, and had received honours almost divine ; now he adores his great Creator and merciful Preserver. And what a congregation he had !—husbands, whose wives he had dishonoured ; widows, whose husbands he had slain ; sisters, whose relatives had been strangled by his orders ; relatives, whose friends he had eaten ; and children, the descendants of those he had murdered, and who had vowed to avenge the wrongs inflicted on their fathers ! A thousand stony hearts heaved with fear and astonishment."

Some years later, the worn-out giant lay a-dying. Standing behind the curtain of his apartment, the missionary heard the old man crying thus : " Now, Jesus, now is your time to help ; no one else can. . . . I am in the valley and the shadow of death ; Jesus holds me fast ! Who shall separate me from the love of Christ ! "

How much besides there is to tell in the story of the coming of the kingdom of God to Tonga and Fiji, for which space is wanting ! The later history of the Church in the Islands—its growth and trials, the decimation of its people by European sicknesses, its martyrdoms endured in spreading the knowledge of Christ amongst the further heathen, the coming of the new heathenism imported by Hindu labour—lies beyond our present view.

At the time of the transference of the two Districts to the Australian Conference in 1855 (*see* p. 150) education, especially the training of native ministers and teachers, had become an urgent problem. The Tongatabu Institution was established for the latter purposes in 1847 ; similar provision was made later at other centres. Through the generous help of the Bible Society, the New Testament, translated by our missionaries, was available in both languages by the year 1850. and the complete Bible in 1860.

In 1855, out of a population of some 30,000 in the Friendly Islands Methodism counted close upon 7,000 Church-members, and above 7,000 scholars ; half the inhabitants regularly

attended Christian worship, and only fifty professed heathen were left in the islands. The Fijians numbered perhaps 250,000; amongst these were 3,000 Methodist members of Society, over twice as many scholars, and about 10,000 attenders at public worship—numbers greatly augmented a few years later, after the establishment of peace and Thakombau's baptism. Fiji is now a part of the British Empire; and Tonga has become a British Protectorate.

CHAPTER IX

Breaking Ground in Ceylon and India

When Thomas Coke died on the way to India (*see* Chapter II.), he left six missionary novices to complete the voyage bereaved of their father and guide: their names were William Ault, Benjamin Clough, George Erskine, William Martin Harvard (and his wife), James Lynch, and Thomas Hall Squance. The party landed in Bombay, without money or credit (Dr. Coke had made no provision against his decease), with no instructions for this contingency, and with the vaguest plans for the future. Had they taken the first homeward-bound ship, no one could have blamed them. They bravely went forward, casting themselves upon the providence of God. Thanks to the friendly mediation of their ship-captain, money was advanced for their immediate needs, and they were received as guests by the Governor of Bombay. A month later the little company, excepting the Harvards who followed six months after, embarked for Galle, the south-western port of Ceylon, which they reached at the end of June.

This island, recently captured from the Dutch (*see* p. 78), was a Crown Colony, uncontrolled by the East India Company. By a good Providence its British officials were exceptionally well-disposed. Their countenance and good-will were peculiarly welcome to missionaries landing in a strange country, with such formidable work before them. Squance preached on the following Sabbath in the old Dutch Church of Galle, when the conversion of a Burgher* physician of Swiss descent, by name William Lalmon (missionary from 1816–62), gave a hopeful augury.

* "Burgher" is the name borne, with some pride, by the Eurasians of Ceylon, who are chiefly of Dutch (sometimes Portuguese) and Sinhalese (or Tamil) descent.

Ceylon was nominally already Christianized. During the Portuguese occupation (1505–1617) the Roman Catholic faith had been enforced along the coast, and here and there was strongly rooted. After the Dutch conquest the Reformed Church of Holland took the official place of Romanism. Baptism was indispensable for public office; instruction in the Protestant rudiments became compulsory; Christian marriage was prescribed by law, and marriage-certificates were required in evidence of claims to inheritance; heathen and Buddhist shrines were extensively destroyed. But the effect of this compulsion had been worse than superficial. Buddhism persisted in the south, Hinduism in the north, under a veneer of conformity. The people combined the worship of the Christian God with that of Buddha or Siva, and allegiance to Jesus with submission to the devil-priest. When the English rule superseded the Dutch in 1796, and Christian profession was no longer imperative, the mask was dropped. Within the first ten years of British rule idol-temples multiplied in the occupied provinces by at least three-fold, while churches and schools fell into ruin. Nothing effectual was done to stay the reaction; for a full decade the Church slept, while the enemy sowed tares.

In 1805 the L.M.S. appointed four missionaries to Ceylon, three of whom were soon withdrawn; the fourth became pastor of a Dutch Church. The B.M.S. stationed a single agent at Colombo in 1812. Government had its chaplains, ministering to the British soldiers and civilians.

Such was the situation when the Methodist missionary party landed at Point de Galle. The population within reach had some acquaintance with Christian words and forms; they had gained facility in nominal profession; under their polite deference lay a rooted contempt. Said an old man one day: "When the Dutch brought the Gospel milk to Ceylon, they gave it to us *scalding hot;* it burnt our throats, and now the people are afraid to come to the vessel to drink!" The Government was alarmed at the anti-Christian revulsion, and ready to encourage the attempt to counteract it; but they saw the evil of State patronage.

Two nations of different race and speech inhabited the island—the Sinhalese chiefly in the south, the sturdier Tamils in the north. The latter had crossed the straits from India many centuries before, bringing their Hinduism with them and overthrowing the once-powerful Buddhism of North Ceylon; the former remained Buddhists. With both creeds was amalgamated

the primitive animistic devil-worship practised by the village-people all over the island ; this was the sole religion of the aboriginal Veddahs (*see* p. 195). Ceylon presented a religious problem very different from anything encountered by Christianity in Africa or the South Seas, and capable of a far more effective resistance. Buddhism is a highly organized religion, with its scholar-priests and preachers, its monasteries and its sacred literature.

On the other hand, Ceylon had along the coast a comparatively large contingent of island-born families of more or less European blood and Christian education (*see* foot-note on p. 110). Here "the centuries, the continents, the races of mankind have tumbled together." The language-problem was complicated by the prevalence of Portuguese* in commerce and in Europeanised society ; its acquisition was indispensable in the coast-towns. Either in North or South Ceylon, missionaries had to be trilingual. Muhammadanism is represented by the Moors (or Moormen)—sailors and traders of Malay and Arab descent, who live in detached communities on the coast, and are little touched by Christian influence.

The prospects offered to the inexperienced missionaries were flattering ; they wrote to England hopeful letters, which relieved the anxiety caused by Dr. Coke's decease. The wind was "tempered to the shorn lambs ! " The Government promised facilities for their work, and invited them, while learning the native languages, to take charge of certain derelict schools. Under this arrangement, Lynch and Squance went to Jaffna, a Tamil town in the extreme north ; Ault was appointed to Batticaloa (Tamil) on the east coast ; Erskine took charge of Matara, at the southern end of the island, but soon rejoined Clough, who remained at Galle. Harvard, who had a knowledge of printing, on his arrival from Bombay was posted at Colombo, situated midway on the west coast, and set up there the printing-press which Dr. Coke had provided, while he established preaching (in four languages) in and around the city. The chief centres of Methodist work in Ceylon were thus marked out.

Our work in Colombo was greatly furthered by the help of Andrew Armour, head of the Government Schools. Armour was an ex-soldier, who had been brought to God under Methodist preaching in Ireland. Stationed at Gibraltar, he gathered round him a group of comrades, which became the nucleus of Methodism there (*see* p. 125). Transferred to Madras in 1798, Armour became an expert linguist, and was attached as interpreter to

* This speech is now rapidly disappearing in Ceylon.

the Court of Justice in Colombo on its establishment. He was discharged from the army, to be made Headmaster of a large Government School. An Anglican license was conferred upon him, with a view to vernacular preaching. This extraordinary man co-operated zealously with our first missionaries; for two years (1816–17) his name appears in our list of ministers. Armour returned to the service of the Anglican Church, but remained an ally of the Methodists. His work in translation was invaluable to Ceylonese Christianity. He died, deeply lamented, in 1828.

Difference of language and difficulties of communication led to the separation, in 1819, of the South and North—Sinhalese and Tamil—fields of labour. William Buckley Fox and James Lynch were their respective Chairmen. Strong reinforcements had been sent to the island since 1814: along with Fox (a Preacher of standing at home, and a good linguist), there were Robert Carver, Robert Newstead, Thomas Osborne, Joseph Roberts, John Callaway, beside others who early quitted the field. Amongst the first comers, Erskine, proving inapt in language, in a few years removed to Australia. Ault had died at Batticaloa in eight months, through privation and exposure. Clough, Harvard, Lynch, and Squance were left, out of Coke's original six. Clough became a great vernacular scholar, producing the first standard Sinhalese-English *Dictionary*; Harvard also remained in South Ceylon—he excelled in administrative gifts and spiritual power; Lynch and Squance entered upon the Tamil work, which they extended to the Indian mainland. Though neither of these latter became proficient in Tamil—Lynch was nearly forty years old when he left Ireland—they were true founders, and gained a hold upon the English and Portuguese-speaking population which was essential at the beginning. Lynch was an excellent pastor, Squance a powerful preacher. Both in Colombo and Jaffna Methodism won a number of Burgher families, who proved a mainstay of the Church.

The old Dutch port of Galle was the starting-point of Methodism in South Ceylon. Here the missionaries re-assembled on Harvard's arrival. Their meeting was an occasion of extraordinary spiritual power, marked by the winning for Christ of the earliest abiding Sinhalese convert, Don Cornelius Wijisingha, whose course in the ministry (1819–64) was "a beautiful example of Christian gentleness and patience," and of fearless trust in God. Matara was re-occupied by John Callaway, in 1816. These two stations, situated amongst purely Sinhalese people, have been centres for three generations of the conflict in this part of

the island, where "the soil is thick with the matted roots and age-long growths of a tangled Buddhism and demonism," and where the work of conversion has been "like wrestling the prey from the teeth of the enraged lion." But the fruit so hardly won has proved especially sound and enduring. The hold of the Mission on this district was greatly strengthened by the occupation of Richmond Hill, near to Galle—property secured in 1851 by Joseph Rippon (missionary from 1850–61); this splendid site, gradually covered with church and school-premises, forms to-day the most powerful educational centre in southern Ceylon.

The western province of the Sinhalese District developed more quickly. The vigorous commencement of its work under Harvard has already been noted (p. 112). At the Pettah in Colombo the first Methodist Chapel of Asia was built, in 1816. The suburb of Colpetty, occupied later, became the headquarters of the Mission. Fox and Clough in succession took charge of Colombo, when Harvard returned to England through loss of health in 1819. In 1818 Daniel John Gogerly arrived, in the capacity of printer and press-manager—the greatest man Methodism ever gave to Ceylon. His first service was to extricate the finances of the Mission from the confusion into which they had fallen, through the business inexperience and the many distractions of the missionaries. His linguistic genius and gift for vernacular preaching came into play, and in 1823 Gogerly was enlisted in the ministry, in which he served until his death in 1862, never once returning to England. From the year 1838 he presided over the South Ceylon District, residing chiefly in Colombo. John Walton (*see* p. 169) thus delineates him: "With the head of a German, the heart of an Englishman, and the faith of a Methodist, he was a great man every way. . . . In scholarship, in his own line, he has left no peer. In administrative capacity, he could have governed a kingdom. As a preacher, he was convincing as Apollos and sinewy as Paul. The best of the man was his kind and large heart." Gogerly set himself, with giant strength, to master the profound system of Buddhism, digging down to its roots in the Pali* literature and acquainting himself with all its usages and developments. His knowledge of the subject was unrivalled then, and has hardly been equalled since; the most erudite Orientalists quote him with respect; leading Buddhist teachers adopted his decisions on obscure points of

* *Pali*, the classical language of Buddhism, was spoken in North India in the sixth century B.C., when Gautama lived. It is the offspring of Sanscrit, the tongue of the original Aryans.

their doctrine. Gogerly wrote much in the way of controversial discussion and exposition, though he published no continuous work*.

Robert Spence Hardy, who succeeded to Gogerly's District Chair, stood only second to his chief in learning and influence. He served in Ceylon from 1825–46, and again from 1862–64. His works on Buddhism are still standard books on the subject; and his *Jubilee Memorials of the Wesleyan Mission in South Ceylon*, published in 1863, is a valuable historical record.

From Colombo the light of the Gospel spread north and south along the coast. At Negombo, 20 miles to the north, the way was opened by a Romanist Sinhalese named Pereira, who had come under Harvard's influence at Colombo. Appointed to an interpretership in Negombo, this young man commenced a school on his own account, which flourished greatly. Pereira's success led to the appointment to Negombo of Robert Newstead (*see* p. 113). Don Daniel Pereira, brother of the teacher just mentioned, was brought to Christ and became an earnest Methodist; in course of time he entered the ministry (1826–67), the second Assistant Missionary of purely native blood; his son, Daniel Henry, served in the same ranks from 1851–86. Methodist teaching took a firm hold of Negombo, and spread through the surrounding villages. Newstead laboured with energy and courage, until his health succumbed to the climate and he returned home in 1826. Romanist persecution was bitter in the Negombo Circuit; it served by sifting the Church to give it a firmer character than elsewhere.

Southwards of Colombo, Moratuwa, Panadura, Kalutara were occupied in turn, as the mission multiplied its Burgher and Sinhalese helpers. Everywhere in Ceylon the preacher had the schoolmaster for his companion; at first he served the double office. Without systematic education it was impossible to fortify converts against Buddhism, and to raise up Christian families and communities. Three-fourths of our Ceylonese converts have come in through this door.

Central Ceylon, with its capital of Kandy, came into British possession in 1816. Soon after this date a missionary writes: "Our eyes are watching the dawning of opportunity to get into the interior; you must not be surprised to see our letter dated soon from Kandy." So early as 1819, Newstead planned a line

* It is only recently (1908) that the writings of this famous scholar have been gathered, in two volumes published by the Colpetty Methodist Book Room under the title *Ceylon Buddhism*, and edited by A. Stanley Bishop.

of schools—each school a preaching-place—to spread from Negombo through the hills eastwards to Kandy. This enterprise was stopped through the outbreak of pestilence, and for lack of funds. The C.M.S. took up our deserted task, with good success. At length, in 1836, the Methodist Mission entered Kandy, led by converts from the coast who had settled there ; but reduced grants enforced a retreat three years later (the story is continued on p. 193). Before retreating, Spence Hardy won an important battle here. Government subsidies had been contributed in aid of the prevailing worship of the Province, under an interpretation of the convention made with the Kandyan chiefs in 1816, which he showed to be unwarranted ; now the contribution ceased.

The condition of Methodism in South Ceylon is thus described by Dr. F. J. Jobson, who visited the island from England in 1860 : " I have been gratefully surprised by what I have seen and learned of Methodism here. . . . On the sea-board of the island, where the population is chiefly found, it seems to be almost as thickly planted as in the country parts of our home Circuits. . . . The centres of evangelical light are fixed, and the radius of truth is year by year enlarging. . . . The Native Missionaries and Assistants are converted, spiritual, hard-working men, and are successfully doing the work of evangelists. The people are devout, happy Christians, and are contributing out of their scanty means to the work of God." In 1857 the Church-membership of the South Ceylon District was nearly 2,000, with 3 English Missionaries and 14 Burgher or Sinhalese Assistant Ministers. The number of scholars was almost 2,500.

Jaffna, situated on the extreme northern peninsula, was the headquarters of the Mission in North Tamil, Ceylon. Here Lynch and Squance arrived early in 1815, after a perilous journey of 250 miles through the jungle. They found a couple of hearty friends and helpers in Christian David, one of Schwartz's converts and Headmaster of the Government Normal School in Jaffna, and Mrs. Schrader, the Protestant schoolmistress, who spoke Dutch, Portuguese, and Tamil. At the age of fifty-six she learned English, and translated the Wesleyan Hymns and some of Wesley's Sermons into Portuguese, while acting as language-teacher to the missionaries. English duties so pre-occupied the two pioneers at Jaffna, that they but slowly got at their work amongst the natives.

While the Northern District boasted no leader of the supremacy of Gogerly, amongst the first generation there were missionaries of exceptional power. Robert Carver joined the Mission

in 1815, becoming Chairman in 1824, a man distinguished by strong sense and fine spirit, and great general capacity. Joseph Roberts*, appointed in 1819, had " a gift for languages and a passion for preaching Christ to the Hindus "—he laboured in this District until 1831 and presided later, from 1843–8, over the Madras District. Peter Percival (1826–51), was a born linguist, and singularly sensitive to the genius and music of Tamil ; his work in Bible-translation shows the master's touch While stationed in Calcutta (*see* p. 181), Percival had imbibed Dr. Alexander Duff's ideas respecting higher education. His chief memorial is the Jaffna Central School (now College), founded in 1834, along with the Girls' Boarding School and the Training Institution—the earliest Methodist establishments of the kind in the East.

In Batticaloa, at the other end of the District, laboured Ralph Stott, subsequently our pioneer amongst the Natal coolies —a fluent Tamil speaker and in the happiest relations with all classes of the natives. Stott embodied the evangelistic, as Percival did the educational, missionary ideal. The two were in continual friendly conflict ; from the clash of their opinions the policy of the District was evolved. During Stott's ministry a church was opened at Batticaloa (1839), to the erection of which the people contributed at the rate of £10 per member ! Its building was followed by a great ingathering of souls. The first Tamil minister raised up was John Sanmugam Phillips (1827–63) ; he was followed by Richard Watson (1848–62), a convert of Stott's and a preacher of exceptional gifts.

In 1847 arrived the statesman-missionary of North Ceylon, John Kilner (*see* pp. 31, 194, 206), who succeeded in co-ordinating the rival methods. Under his Chairmanship (1860–75) the schools throve and multiplied, while gospel-preaching was effectively prosecuted. " Self-support, self-government, self-propagation " now " became part of the vocabulary and the ideals " of the native Churches. Kilner's finest work lay in the training of men. Characteristic was the advice he gave to a young missionary : " Be sure to put *yourself* into your boys ! " During its first fifty years North Ceylon had produced two native ministers ; by the year 1875 twelve Tamil names figure upon the Stations (*see* Chapter XIV.)

This District in 1857 was manned by 4 English and 2 Tamil

* The three daughters of Mr. Roberts married missionaries ; the last survivor of them—the wife of Richard D. Griffith (India and Ceylon, 1837–56)—died at a great age a few months ago in Bristol (1912).

Missionaries, with about 300 members of Society under their care. The number of scholars under instruction was nearly 800. To the original stations of Jaffna and Batticaloa there had been added Trincomali, a port midway between the two, and Point Pedro, the northernmost extremity of the island. In view of the small numerical gains of the first half-century of this Mission, it must be remembered that the Tamil Ceylonese are Hindus, living under the system of Indian caste (*comp.* p. 189).

The Ceylon Mission had passed through a time of severe trial. Its morning hopes were speedily overcast. Dr. Coke's young missionaries were little acquainted with the Oriental character, and with the nature of the great religions they had come to overthrow. The favourable reception they had met with raised in them too sanguine expectations, and they sent home accounts of their prospects which later experience belied. A number of Buddhist priests became enquirers within the first year or two; several professed conversion—with how much sincerity it is hard to say. Successes were prematurely advertised; and when relapse followed, and it became evident that the promising disciples only meant to graft the new religion on the old, the disillusion was bitter, both for the missionaries in the field and for the Society in England.

A weary siege was awaiting the Church about the hoary walls of Buddhism and Hinduism. To this kind of warfare the temper of Methodism did not readily adapt itself. The volunteers sent upon this service, although the best-educated the Church could find, and full of zeal and enterprise, were without specific training for their work. Moreover, the expense of the Eastern Missions greatly exceeded the estimates; matters were made worse by the lack of business-knowledge in the early missionaries, and by insufficient instructions from home. These causes combined to bring about within the first five years a crisis in the Ceylon and India Mission, which tasked all the faith of the pioneers abroad and of the Church at home to surmount it. Happily at this time the missionary fire of Methodism was burning strongly, and was fed by good tidings from other quarters. It began to be seen that in this field "the husbandman" must "wait with patience for the precious fruit of the earth."

But the discouraged and censured missionaries of the first days laid sound foundations. Their outlay in property, severely disapproved at the time, has justified itself. In Jaffna, Point Pedro, Trincomali, Batticaloa, Galle, the Mission secured ample, healthy, and commanding sites. The prosperity of recent times

is largely due to the early occupation of these points of vantage. "The successors of the fathers have often wished that their faith had been bolder or their resources larger, but never that they had selected other places."

* * * * *

Tamil was the language common to North Ceylon with great part of Southern India, and Jaffna furnished a stepping-stone to the mainland. Dr. Coke contemplated the occupation of Ceylon as a prelude to the evangelization of India. This larger object divided the attention of the scanty band of his companions. In 1815 James Lynch, at Jaffna, received a letter from English Methodists in Madras, requesting a visit. In India, as elsewhere, Methodism has followed the British flag and outrun the missionary. Arriving in January, 1817, after preaching at Negapatam on the way, he found there a Society Class of a dozen members, led by a Mr. Robam, who was also a Local Preacher. Next year Lynch took up his residence in Madras. In 1819, when Ceylon was divided into its two Districts (p. 113), Madras, Bangalore, and Negapatam appear upon the Stations attached to the Northern District, which had Lynch for its Chairman (at Madras). This unwieldy arrangement lasted until 1824, when the "Madras District" was detached from North Ceylon, with five missionaries assigned to each. From this point the separate history of the Mission in India begins.

In April, 1822, the mother church of Madras Methodism was opened at Blacktown (now Georgetown)—the home from that day to this of an influential English-speaking congregation. Its erection was liberally assisted by the British community,—especially by a wealthy gentleman of the name of Bradford Durnford, who entertained Mr. Lynch on his first coming, and showed till the day of his death (in 1861) an unstinted generosity toward Methodist work in the city.

Lynch preached to the natives through an interpreter (*comp.* p. 113). The English residents and soldiers needed his care; to these his ministry was richly blessed. The Eurasians are numerous in Madras, speaking mostly both English and Tamil. Through the conversion of these children of the double stock Christianity, it was hoped, would be conveyed to the natives: for this object Lynch and others earnestly laboured. Some useful "East Indian" ministers have been thus enlisted; but the anticipations cherished in that direction have not been fulfilled. Compelled to quit the field in 1825, Lynch was succeeded

as Chairman by Robert Carver (*see* pp. 116, 117), who was removed to Madras from Jaffna—there was frequent exchange between the two Tamil Districts. Elijah Hoole, arriving in 1820, was the earliest, and one of the ablest of our South Indian vernacular preachers. He merited Richard Watson's commendation: "Some need the spur, others the rein. You, I believe, are of the latter and more honourable class." Hoole made arduous evangelistic tours, in which he opened up a wide area of country and gained almost everywhere a friendly hearing. His Indian career was closed by illness in 1828; but it qualified him for his long and eminent service in the Secretariat at home (*see* p. 31).

Hoole and his companion, James Mowat, were posted out at Negapatam and Bangalore in 1821, before the Mission had been fairly planted in Madras. This tendency to dispersal, with the frequent changes resulting from it, proved a long-lasting hindrance to our work. Methodism was created by a roving evangelism; John Wesley's Preachers were itinerants by habit and delight. India offers illimitable room and temptation to this mode of life. Yet India is a field in which nothing can be accomplished without concentration and concerted action. Our missionaries learnt this lesson by painfully won experience. Bangalore and Negapatam were outposts chosen not upon any plan for missioning the heathen, but on the suggestion of resident English Methodists wishful for a preacher; through their aid the missionaries hoped to reach the people. But these invitations drew the acceptors far away from their base in Madras, and involved them in English work. Our slender forces were scattered over a vast, thickly peopled area; nowhere were we strong enough to make a continuous impression or strike an effective blow. There was little division of labour; busy in every kind of work, the missionary could rarely attain the highest skill in any. And when the solitary overtasked man broke down under the tropical sun, his station remained vacant for months, sometimes for years, and his work went to pieces. Effective occupation of the territory marked out by the points seized during 1821, was utterly out of the question. Moreover, each new station called for additional outlay in plant, which the Missionary Committee was slow to sanction; while the frequent casualties and the heavy expenses, greater then than now, of voyages between England and the East, aggravated the burdens which India laid upon the Missionary Fund, at a time when other fields drained its resources.

The question of educational *versus* evangelistic method agitated

Madras as well as North Ceylon (*see* p. 117). On the one side it was maintained that the fortress of Hinduism, impregnable as it appeared, must fall in time before the direct fire of gospel-preaching, and that "the foolishness of preaching" is the one means appointed in God's wisdom for spreading the Redeemer's kingdom; educationalists, while approving the open assault, contended that to carry the citadel, its walls must be sapped by the slower agency of the Christian school. The powerful impression made by Alexander Duff's advocacy of Western education at Calcutta encouraged this latter party; Dr. Duff gave, in fact, a new turn to missionary views and operations throughout India.

The era of discouragement and perplexity culminated in the 'forties, when the Methodist forces, English and Indian, were thinned not only by death and sickness, but by the secessions of discontented men to the Anglican Church. Edward Jonathan Hardey, who entered the work in 1840 and remained faithful (dying in harness in 1858)—a "frank, cheerful, generous" man, with "a bodily frame which appeared incapable of fatigue, rejoicing to spend and be spent in the service of the kingdom of God"—describes the situation plainly in a letter to the Committee dated 1849: "There has been so much retrenchment during the last seven or eight years, that we are surprised that you keep on all the stations. By so doing you cripple us all. . . . We are doing everything by halves, and nothing thoroughly. Our scattered position effectually prevents our working in concert. . . . *Concentration, concentration, concentration* only will save India." He deplores the amount of English preaching expected from missionaries, the necessity for making Superintendents of young men unfurnished in the language, and the attempts to adapt "the three-years system" to the mission-field.

Dr. Duff's memorable speech of 1851 at Exeter Hall enforced the contention of this outspoken letter. He urged the Society not to multiply weak stations, but to organize its forces and "adapt the means to the end"; it was high time, he said, *to take the problem of the evangelization of India seriously*. "Looking round upon these immense multitudes, comparing them with the smallness and inadequacy of the agency brought to bear upon them, it seems, humanly speaking, like the attempt by means of a few twinkling tapers to turn the darkness of night into meridian brightness. . . . It looks almost like preposterousness run mad."

The result of inadequate methods is described by Ebenezer Jenkins, when in 1849, after four years in the country, he cries:

"Where are our native Churches? In which of the four places—Madras, Bangalore, Negapatam, and Manargoody—have we made anything like a permanent impression on the Hindu population? We were surrounded by a crowded and willing people; more than occasionally the missionary was cheered by a grateful hearing . . . but no system was in operation to maintain the stand which Truth might have commanded; there was no religious establishment to wall round and protect the seed, which here and there betokened promise." Melnattam illustrated the futility of casual and discontinuous effort. It is a large village lying 40 miles south-west of Negapatam. Its people—mostly Romanists—sent, about 1825, a deputation to this latter town, asking for a teacher; and a catechist came, followed by the visits of the missionary, whom they received as an angel from heaven. The villagers made at first astonishing progress, and eagerly gave the site for a chapel. But the staff of the District was inadequate—a single missionary could alone be spared for this neighbourhood; repeatedly the station was derelict. In 1851 Samuel Hardey* writes, after a visit: "The almost unfrequented chapel, the appearance of the congregation, the unoccupied Mission House, and the garden running to waste, read an admonitory lesson." In too many other spots we appeared as men who "began to build, and were not able to finish." Sporadic conversions were not enough; the means were wanting to build up a Christian community. The overthrow of Hinduism was a task requiring sacrifices and efforts such as the Protestant Churches when they commenced the attack had little dreamed of,—Methodism least of all. The host of Israel stood before walls which no trumpet-blowing, no seven-days' perambulation, would bring to the ground. In learning these hard lessons, heroic and gifted men toiled, devoted men laid down their lives on the South Indian field, not without reaping precious, though to human reckoning scanty fruit.

Thomas Cryer (1829–52), a man of intrepid courage and flaming zeal, was worn out by incessant labour and self-denial. Elias J. Gloria (1854–95)—the most popular Tamil preacher Madras Methodism has ever had—and Joel Samuel (1856–79) owed their

* Samuel Hardey had a long and varied missionary career. After labouring in India from 1827–45, and again from 1849–53, and for some time when detained at Mauritius, ministering there with great acceptance, he served in Australia from 1854–60; and finally (1861–78) he was Chairman of the Cape Town District in Africa. In his character "gentleness and dignity" were "beautifully combined."

awakening to Cryer. These two, who had been scholars of Peter Batchelor (1838–61 : *comp.* p. 169) in the " Head Native School " at Negapatam, with the gifted Abijah Samuel, Joel's brother, were our first Native Ministers in India ; they were Christians of the second generation. The work of Batchelor—a quiet, skilful, faithful teacher—was the complement to that of Cryer. The two Hardeys and Ebenezer Jenkins (*comp.* p. 31)—amongst the ablest missionaries of this critical period—have already been quoted ; their work prepared for a better day. Dr. Jenkins' chief distinction lay in English preaching and higher education.

Thomas Hodson (1829–78 : *comp.* p. 181) combined, perhaps more perfectly than any man we have named, the manifold aptitudes demanded in an Indian missionary of that time. He created the Mysore District, which was separated from Madras in 1848. For twenty-five years continuously Mr. Hodson presided over this Mission. Its development exemplifies the benefit of good generalship and a well-devised and stable policy. In 1833 Hodson came to Bangalore, where six years previously Tamil work had been commenced, amongst the cantonment servants, by John F. England (1823–31) ; but Kanarese* was the language of the people, and to its acquisition Hodson addressed himself. He established friendly relations between the Wesleyan Mission and the Native Government. He pushed into the interior of the Kanarese-speaking country, gradually spreading the Mission through the province as opportunities and means allowed, with well-judged strategy, and secured a unity of action throughout his District hitherto unattained in our South Indian work. By the close of the period we are narrating, the Mysore Mission was on its way to assured prosperity. Here William Arthur commenced his brilliant course (*comp.* p. 30). He was driven from the Mission-field after two years through the failure of his eyesight ; but his observations are recorded in his book entitled *A Mission to the Mysore*, which distinctly quickened the interest of the Methodist public in India and its Missions.

In 1852 the Missionary Committee, with William Arthur now upon its Secretariat, was brought to face the situation and to recognise that the Indian Mission must be greatly strengthened, or else abandoned. Six additional men were voted to the service, while the distribution of the staff and the methods of the

* There are four sister languages spoken by the Dravidian peoples of South India : *Tamil* to the south, *Telugu* to the north of Madras, *Kanarese* in the inland country of Mysore, and *Malayalim* on the western coast.

work were carefully examined. This intervention proved the turning-point. In 1854 Hodson writes: "I think we are on the eve of a great change"; Daniel Sanderson (1842–57)—our best Kanarese scholar—returning in 1855 to the field after two years' absence, reports progress in nearly every particular. Dr. Jenkins is filling the great Blacktown Chapel to overflowing; young men from his school at Royapettah (Madras) are coming forward for the ministry.* William Overend Simpson—amongst the noblest men and greatest Tamil preachers that the South Indian field has known—arrived about this time, and was a host in himself. The staff was still insufficient for the work in hand, and several of the southernmost stations remained vacant; but a fresh impetus was given to the whole machinery, and courage and hope were revived throughout the field.

In 1855 the East India Company began to foster education by the offer of grants-in-aid to all schools of tested efficiency. Advantage was taken of these proposals both in Bangalore, where E. J. Hardey was already projecting a Boys' High School, and in Madras, where the "Anglo-vernacular Institution" (now Wesley College) was set on foot, under the efficient direction of Arminius Burgess (1853–69). The Royapettah Girls' School was started in 1856, with provision made for boarders, Mrs. Roberts, widow of the late District Chairman, being its first mistress. Similar beginnings in the training of girls, the vital necessity of which was now realised, were made at Trichinopoly, Bangalore, and elsewhere (*comp.* pp. 168–171).

Urgent appeals were made in 1857 for further reinforcements of the missionary staff, which were terribly emphasised by the outbreak of the Mutiny in North India. An increased income justified the Committee in sending ten recruits. At last the Madras and Mysore Districts might be said to be tolerably manned. The fifth decade (1857–67) opened with unmistakable signs of advance. The leaders were gifted and well-seasoned men. A varied agency was being brought into play, capable of reaching both sexes and many sections of the community. The equipment was better than at any time before. Above all, the men at the front were reassured of the sympathy of the Church at home. The nature of the work undertaken and the battle to be fought on this immense field was coming to be understood, after forty years' experience. At last the Church was studying to suit her

* Amongst these, Peter J. Evers (1853–84), and the brothers James (1852–89) and George Hobday (still living, in honoured retirement), call for special mention.

methods to the tremendous task which India imposed upon her.

The Madras District (including the present District of Negapatam and Trichinopoly) reported in 1857 five English missionaries, three Tamil or East Indian ministers, 159 Church-members, 683 scholars in all grades; the Mysore District, with 9 English and 2 East Indian missionaries, had 222 members of Society and 1,236 scholars.

CHAPTER X

Europe and the Mediterranean

Methodism has sought to "go to those who need her most." Following her own children to the Colonies and seeking the heathen on distant shores, she has paid less regard to the needs of the old Christian lands lying nearer home. Yet her activities have touched the Roman Catholic peoples of France, of the Spanish peninsula and Italy, and have found scope in Protestant Germany and Sweden besides.

Gibraltar, Spain, and Portugal

In 1792, shortly before the outbreak of the Great War, certain British regiments arrived at Gibraltar from Ireland containing a handful of Methodists, amongst whom was Andrew Armour, whom we have already met in Ceylon (*see* p. 112). The singing of these pious soldiers in a private room attracted outsiders, who sought admittance; the meetings swelled, until 120 worshippers were gathered. A Methodist Society was formed numbering 60 members, and before long a chapel was built to hold 300 people. The little Church lived on when its military founders were removed; reporting itself in 1799 to the Conference in England, it asked for a minister. James M'Mullen was sent—not till 1804—and arrived, with wife and child, to find the yellow fever raging. First the babe was stricken; then the parents. Both the latter died within a few weeks of landing. The orphan child recovered; and, returning home, was adopted by Dr. Adam Clarke. She grew up to become the mother of the famous James H. Rigg.

The station remained vacant, until in 1808 William Griffith was appointed; from that date till the present Gibraltar has always had a Preacher ministering to British soldiers and civilians.

The imperial work of Methodism for the Army and Navy thus commenced at "The Rock" (*comp.* p. 181).

The Missionary Society regarded Gibraltar as the starting-point for evangelizing Spain. William Barber was stationed there in 1825 as a second missionary, with this object in view; he laboured with some promise of success, until cut off by yellow fever in 1828. The experiment was repeated on the appointment of William H. Rule (1832), who was supplied with a colleague for English work, that he might devote himself to the "Spanish Department." Rule mastered the language, and toiled with resolute energy. Beside gathering a Spanish congregation and setting up schools in Gibraltar, after venturesome inland journeys, he obtained a footing at Cadiz; but he was expelled and his work suppressed by the Romanists. Dr. Rule's best service to Spain was done in the way of Bible-circulation.

The Spanish Department at Gibraltar, ceasing on Rule's retirement in 1841, was revived six years later under the direction of George Alton, with the aid of a Spanish convert named Giolma, who became Assistant Missionary. Alton re-opened the mission at Cadiz, to be driven out in his turn. Apart from the Chaplaincy and the garrison Church, the Spanish schools at Gibraltar remained the only permanent Methodist agency in the South of Spain.

The Society's Report for 1869 speaks of Spain as "a field of labour wistfully contemplated" from Gibraltar "for nearly three-fourths of a century." An English thorn in the side of Spanish patriotism, the fortress of Gibraltar proved no point of vantage for English missionaries. A modest attempt was now to be made from another quarter. William Thomas Brown was a valued clerk at the Mission House for many years. His heart had been drawn toward the Spanish sailors frequenting the Port of London; he had acquired their tongue, and found himself useful in his work for Christ amongst them. Offering to serve the Missionary Society as a Lay Agent in Spain, he was sent in 1868 to Barcelona, where an opening presented itself, and when recent political changes gave promise of religious liberty. Brown worked quietly amongst the people, setting up small schools and gradually winning esteem and confidence; he gathered a Methodist Society, in the face of bitter opposition. In 1879 he was admitted into the Ministry, and moved out to the Balearic Isles, to which Methodism had spread from Barcelona. Franklyn G. Smith, the present Superintendent of the Spanish District, was appointed to Barcelona in 1885.

The existing Church-membership of 361 in three Circuits, with

two Assistant Spanish Ministers, appears no great return for more than thirty years of devoted labour; but it is a genuine success, won by skill and patience against crushing difficulties. Evangelical teaching has taken firm root in this corner of priest-ridden Spain. The Methodist schools of Barcelona are leavening a large district of the city. The respect which the Mission has earned is shown by the fact that in the insurrection of a few years ago, in which neighbouring Catholic establishments were destroyed, the populace carefully protected the Methodist property.

Religious toleration is a plant of slow and precarious growth in Spain. Repeatedly the door has seemed to be opening for the Gospel, and again it has closed. Madrid was occupied for a short time in one of these hopeful seasons.

On the western side of the Peninsula, Methodism found entrance at Oporto simultaneously with Barcelona, and in similar fashion. In 1873 there first appeared on the Stations the name of Robert H. Moreton, who has bravely held this solitary fort till the present time. His labours have won two Portuguese colleagues for the ministry, and a Church of 150 members. Less school-work has been done in Oporto than in Barcelona, and more popular preaching, which has called forth at times tumultuary opposition. In this great Roman Catholic city Methodism stands as "a light shining in a dark place, until the day dawn" which is destined to rise over the Papal lands.

The Mediterranean

In the early part of last century the break-up of the Turkish Empire, and the consequent opening of the way of the Gospel in the Nearer East, were widely expected. Influenced by these anticipations, the Missionary Societies contemplated the speedy evangelization of the Mediterranean lands under Moslem dominion. The W.M.M.S., guided by Richard Watson, entered earnestly into these projects and clung to them tenaciously.

A Methodist crusade to the Holy Land was in contemplation; and Charles Cook was despatched from his work in France (*see* p. 129) to explore the field. His report was encouraging, and for nine years (1823–31) *Palestine* figured in the Methodist Stations;* but occupation was found impossible, although considerable

* So eager was this hope in regard to Palestine that a group of young Preachers commenced the study of Arabic in preparation for service there.

donations were made to the Society for this sacred object. One day the opportunity will return.

From 1824–43 Malta accompanies Gibraltar in the list of Stations, under the heading "The Mediterranean Mission"—at first, "Spain and the Mediterranean." This post was maintained by the Missionary Society not only for the sake of the British garrison, but because of the position of Malta at the gates both of the Papacy and of Islam. But the way did not open then in either direction; nor did the Maltese, who are amongst the most devoted Romanists in the world, appreciate Methodism. In 1844 the missionary was therefore withdrawn, to be replaced some years later by an Army and Navy Chaplain.

"The Mediterranean Mission" included two other important stations. Zante, in the Ionian Isles (then a British Protectorate)—for a while appearing as "Zante and Greece!"—was occupied in 1827, on the invitation of a handful of English residents. Walter Oke Croggon laboured there ably and assiduously for seven years, seeking a foothold on the mainland of Greece, whose political liberation, it was hoped, would give free course to the Gospel. But the Greek Church, both on the island and the continent, effectually blocked the way; and the Zante Mission was abandoned.

From 1830–34, in the time of Mehemet Ali, a Methodist Preacher was stationed at Alexandria with a view to penetrating, on the Egyptian side, into Muhammadan territory. For this attempt also the time proved unripe. The four stations enumerated formed part of a comprehensive plan for diffusing evangelical Christianity in South Europe and the Near East, along the lines of British influence. The campaign against Islam has been postponed, but cannot be renounced.

France

France has been the "Samaria" of British Protestantism,—an unreceptive neighbour. Dr. Coke's attempts in this quarter we have already noted (p. 20). The Channel Islands supplied a bridge for Methodism into France. Hither the Methodist Revival had come all the way round by Newfoundland. Pierre le Sueur, a Jersey trader, who was brought to God under Coughlan's ministry in Harbour Grace (*see* p. 37), planted Methodism, about 1775, in his native island; here Robert Carr Brackenbury and Adam Clarke began their fruitful labours, under Wesley's direction, eleven years later. From the islands William Mahy (appointed to "France" in the Stations of 1791) and Jean de Queteville—the

latter Coke's companion on his French tour—carried the Gospel to the mainland of Normandy, where several small Methodist Societies were gathered toward the end of the eighteenth century: the Minutes of 1814 register 14 members of Society at Bouville in France. From 1816 onwards French stations (including Brussels, for a number of years) are found in the list of missionary appointments. These represented small and isolated Societies along the Norman and Breton coasts, with which the Islanders had ties of relationship and commerce; they were visited by Preachers from Guernsey and Jersey. Paris was first occupied in 1819; for a long while Methodism had in this city a feeble, struggling existence. William Toase, the agent of Coke's mission to the French prisoners in England (*see* p. 20), was made "General Superintendent" of the French work in 1818, and gave to it a wider scope.

The appointment of Charles Cook (1820) opened a new prospect for French Methodism. An able young Englishman and a true missionary, Cook gave his whole heart to his adopted country, and made himself to the French as a Frenchman. He travelled throughout southern France and Switzerland, and found a soil congenial to Methodism in the remote Huguenot villages of the Cevennes. In many a spot the dying embers of Protestantism were revived by his preaching, the influence of which extended far beyond the limits of the little Methodist congregations. Revivals of religion—not wide in area nor large in numerical results, but intense in spirit and producing a beautiful piety—attended Charles Cook's labours and those of the preachers he raised up. D'Aubigné, the historian of Protestantism, writes of him as "the John Wesley of the continent,—to France, Switzerland, and Sardinia, on a smaller scale, what Wesley was in his day to England, awakening the attention of multitudes to the vast concerns of religion and eternity." The apostle of French Methodism, Dr. Cook was spared to see its self-governing Conference established in 1852. He died in 1858, after forty years of arduous toil for the salvation of France.

The French was the earliest Affiliated Conference (*see* Chapter XI.). It still leans financially upon the Missionary Society. The brave little French Conference set out with 821 Church-members, and eighteen Ministers; those numbers now amount to 1,770 and thirty-two respectively. The names of Gallienne, Lelièvre, Hocart, Pulsford, and the sainted Emile F. Cook, have lent distinction to this small but choice scion of the Methodist stock.

French Methodism "has laboured and not fainted" through a long, sultry day; her time of reaping will come in due season.

Italy

Italian Methodism dates from 1860 and the War of Liberation. William Arthur, then Missionary Secretary in London and at the height of his vigour (*see* p. 31), devoted his powerful advocacy to the cause of Italy; the inception of the Italian Mission was due to his influence and statesmanship. English sympathies were readily enlisted for the furtherance of the Gospel amongst the people who had given Christian civilisation to Western Europe, but who had lain for so many centuries beneath the blight of the Papacy and of foreign oppression. Florence, Naples, Parma, Padua, Intra, were occupied by Methodists during the first decade. In 1870 the new Kingdom of Italy recovered her capital; and our Church entered Rome on this event.

The Mission found its leader in Henry J. Piggott, who has given his life to Italy as Charles Cook did to France. Appointed to that country in 1861, Mr. Piggott lives in honoured retirement at Rome. By his character and accomplishments he has gained a regard not readily accorded by Italians to foreign propagandists. Distinguished converts have been won, including Roman priests in high office, several of whom have become effective Methodist ministers; and to the poor the Gospel has been preached.

Methodism has spread during the half-century from Domodossola under the Alps (where the former Catholic Church has been converted into the Methodist Chapel) to Palermo in Sicily—Spezia, Milan, Cremona being its chief stations (in addition to those already named) in the Northern Section, and Salerno, Potenza, Aquila in the Southern. Our Church in Italy includes at the present time twenty-four ministers, of whom only the General Superientendent, William Burgess (formerly of Haidarabad; *see* p. 185), is an Englishman, and 2,300 Church-members, with four or five times as many adherents.*

Germany

Methodism, which owed so much to Germany in its beginning, has reacted upon its benefactress. In the year 1829 Christopher Gottlob Müller, a German trader resident in London and a Methodist Class-leader and Exhorter, visited Winnenden in the

* The "Free Evangelical Church of Italy"—a native body of revolters from Romanism—has recently amalgamated with the English Wesleyan and the American Methodist Churches.

Kingdom of Württemberg, his native place. His preaching brought about a religious awakening in this town ; and before he returned to England Müller formed the converts gathered round him into Methodist Classes. After his return to London the Winnenden Society despatched a touching letter desiring Mr. Müller for their pastor. The letter speaks of " many souls being awakened, through your dear brother G. Müller, from their lukewarm Christianity, so that they have been convinced of their sin and misery, and have received from God grace and forgiveness of their sins." In compliance with this request Müller was commissioned, in 1831, to work as Agent of the Missionary Society in Germany. A Church-membership of eighty is reported from Winnenden in that year ; by 1834 the Society numbered 324.

Müller followed the old Methodist plan, forming by visits and preaching, as opportunity afforded, a wide Circuit round his home, setting on foot cottage-meetings, and selecting Class-leaders and Local Preachers amongst the converts, who generally continued to worship in the Established Lutheran Church and received its Sacraments. Until 1854, when his strength failed, Müller carried on these labours indefatigably, at a trifling cost to the Missionary Fund ; an unordained ' Agent,' he had raised up a Society of 1,100 members, ministered to by twenty Local Preachers. This blessed man died in 1858, at the age of 75. " There was," it is said, " no novelty in his doctrine, no originality in his illustrations ; it was simply the power of an earnest Christianity " by which he " captivated the people."

Müller's activity soon excited clerical jealousy and political suspicions. He was subjected to police inquisition, and for a while imprisoned. The Class-meeting was interdicted, and Methodist organization was almost paralysed. Hence, when Müller's labours ceased and the scattered communities he had formed were no longer held together by his personal influence, notwithstanding the vigorous preaching carried on by his fellow-labourers, Methodism quickly declined. In 1858 the membership is returned at only 200. A deputation of enquiry was sent from England, which reported on the defects due to the absence of pastoral oversight and Methodist discipline, but recognised at the same time the lasting fruitfulness of Müller's ministry and the existence of a sound nucleus in Württemberg Methodism.

On this report, John Lyth was put in charge of the German District, which he superintended for six years. A preacher and pastor of experience, an excellent scholar, and a judicious administrator, Dr. Lyth soundly re-established the German Mission

and extended its activities. He left behind him, on his withdrawal, a membership of close upon 900, well-regulated and furnished with Methodist ordinances. Lyth was succeeded by a man of similar spirit and power in John C. Barratt, who presided over the District for twenty-seven years. At his death, in 1892, Germany reported a membership of 2,320, in thirty Circuits extending as far east as Vienna and north-east to Magdeburg. A particularly fine body of German ministers had been raised up, many of whom were trained at the little College formed by Mr. Barratt at Cannstatt, in which Dr. John G. Tasker (now of Handsworth) taught for nine years.

The Wesleyan Methodist Church of Germany, if still small in size, was in a thriving condition, when in 1897, by its own desire and on terms mutually honourable, it was united to the Methodist Episcopal Church in that country, which was a comparatively numerous body and in close touch with the German Methodism of the United States. From this date "Germany" ceases to appear in the Reports of the W.M.M.S. "The severance was not without pain on both sides; but it was wholly free from estrangement of feeling; and the sacrifice was made in the true interest of the work of God."

Sweden

The first twenty years of the Missionary Society's work, from 1813 onwards, formed a period of essays and experiments. The Committee desired, so far as means allowed, to enter every open door. Its policy was to cast the Gospel seed as widely as possible, "knowing not which" of its scatterings "should prosper, whether this or that." There resulted what at this distance of time appears as a dissipation of force, the expenditure on dispersed and isolated plots of resources required for the due cultivation of the fields which had the chief claim upon the Methodist Church.

Such objection may easily be taken, after the event, to the attempt made to plant Methodism in Sweden. In 1826 John Raynar Stephens (afterwards prominent in English politics) was sent by the Conference to Stockholm, on the request of a few English residents. He was followed in 1830 by George Scott, a young man of eminent power and earnestness, who became a good Swedish scholar and laboured for thirteen years with a single-mindedness which earned him the name of "Stockholm Scott." The same sort of opposition arose here as in Württemberg; but the persecution was more dangerous, because in this case Methodism planted itself in the capital city and made an impression in high social circles.

The preaching both of Stephens and of Scott excited great attention. Dr. Scott's ministry was arousing and soul-saving; it provoked to a wholesome jealousy many of the Lutheran clergy. But though a good Methodist chapel was built at Stockholm, not more than a dozen members of Society were gathered at any time; and the Mission was closed in 1843. Shortly before this time Dr. Scott had visited America. In appealing there for aid to his work, he had used expressions respecting Swedish religion which brought on him at his return a storm of obloquy, before which it was impossible to stand. The esteem in which he was held, notwithstanding this outburst, was manifested when, sixteen years later, on revisiting Stockholm, "he was received with enthusiasm by all classes; hundreds of people, including persons of high rank as well as clergymen, hailed him as their spiritual father." Swedish Lutheranism came under a debt to Methodism on Dr. George Scott's account, which some of its leaders have frankly acknowledged.

* * * * *

British Methodism takes a comparatively mild interest in its European Missions. Our American cousins, we are thankful to observe, have been much keener about the spread of the Gospel in Europe; they have largely supplied our lack of service. This livelier interest is due, in great part, to the influx of immigrants from continental Europe. These newcomers and their descendants, converted in America, have been eager to send the Gospel they had received to their friends at home. The Methodist Episcopal Church is represented in France, Italy, North and South Germany, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland and St. Petersburg, and Bulgaria. The Report of its *Board of Foreign Missions* for 1910 enumerates a Church-membership in these various countries amounting to close upon 60,000, which forms more than a third of its entire missionary constituency.

CHAPTER XI

Swarms from the Old Hive

Chapter V. traced the work of the pioneers of Methodism in British North America and Australia up to the year 1833. We resume the story, carrying it to the epoch of the Affiliated Conferences, which were formed simultaneously on these two remote

colonial fields, in the years 1854–55. The establishment of the French Conference, dating from 1852, is also included in this chapter. The colonial churches, in respect alike of numbers, spiritual efficiency, and material resources, were ripe for independence ; at the same time, the heavy responsibilities incumbent on the Mother Church for Africa and the Far East compelled her to seek relief from every burden she could safely devolve.

Eastern British America

Of the Maritime Mission Districts out of which the E.B.A. Conference was formed in 1855, Newfoundland was the eldest (*see* p. 37) ; it was also the most necessitous. The soil was poor, the climate severe ; the wealth of the island lay in its fisheries, which afforded a hazardous occupation in those stormy seas. Disaster by fire and hurricane repeatedly overtook the community, causing in 1847 acute distress, which again, as in the famine of 1830–33 (*see* p. 39), brought spiritual revival.

In 1841 a new departure took place in Newfoundland. Hitherto the work of Methodism had been confined to the better populated south-eastern shores. " Visiting Missionaries " were now appointed, to travel along the southern and north-eastward coasts ; such itinerancy was only possible in the summer months. The scattered fishing-folk thus reached—mostly of English and Protestant descent—were found destitute of spiritual or intellectual provision ; from this time they became leavened with the Gospel. A third Visiting Missionary was sent out in 1845 to the summer-fishers on the Labrador Coast. Settled Churches, however, could rarely be formed amid this sparse and roving population.

Between 1833 and 1854 the Church-membership advanced from 1,847 to 2,274, the number of Circuits from twelve to thirteen.

Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were countries with larger natural resources, and received during this period a steady stream of immigration. The former trebled, the latter doubled, its Methodist membership in the twenty-one years. In 1851 the Nova Scotian District was divided into Eastern and Western, the former carrying with it Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island, also Bermuda*, which in 1850 had been detached from the Bahamas (*see* p. 57) and united with Nova Scotia.

In Enoch Wood (1826–88) and Samuel Dwight Rice (1837–84) New Brunswick possessed at this time two Methodist leaders of a

* Distant as this island is from Nova Scotia, communication by sea is comparatively easy. Bermuda proved a sanatorium for preachers suffering from the bleak North American climate.

high order. The former was of Lincolnshire birth; the latter belonged to a well-known New England family. Wood saw service first in the West Indies, but had been compelled to seek a colder climate; he was an indefatigable worker, a sagacious administrator, and a man mighty in prayer. Rice excelled in the gifts both of mind and body; but he contracted through the hardships of his early ministry a throat-affection which limited his pulpit-service. These fellow-labourers were removed in 1847 to Upper Canada (*see* p. 139). Richard Knight, who commenced his course in Newfoundland (1817–31), and had presided for some time over the Nova-Scotian District—a man of heroic strength and intense spirituality—succeeded Wood in the Chairmanship of New Brunswick; Knight was replaced in Nova Scotia by Ephraim Evans, brother of the James Evans of Indian fame (*see* p. 140). Evans, a pioneer in the Ontario region, was transferred from Canada to the Eastern Provinces in exchange for Drs. Wood and Rice. On the division of the Nova-Scotian District in 1851, Dr. Evans retained the Chairmanship of the eastern half, while Dr. Matthew Richey, restored by Canada to the country of his early labours (*see* p. 41), took charge of the western section. Subsequently, when a leader was required for the first Methodist expedition to British Columbia, though verging on old age, Ephraim Evans volunteered for this service, and laid the foundations of Methodism on the Pacific Coast. The veteran missionary, Isaac Whitehouse, the Chairman of the Bahamas District, returned to Bermuda after its transference, and associated himself with the Methodist leaders of North America.

The mainland Maritime Districts had in their chiefs—Knight, Evans, and Richey—men of commanding influence, and united in counsel. They saw that the time was come for their people to take up the responsibilities of independence. The Missionary Committee in England encouraged this purpose, and in 1855 Dr. Beecham (*see* p. 30) sailed for Halifax (N.S.) commissioned to constitute a Conference of Eastern British America, on the model of those established in France and Australia. He made the tour of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, meeting the several Synods and negotiating " with the wisdom of the sage, the firmness of the judge, the accuracy of the mathematician, the urbanity of the gentleman, and the kindness of the Christian brother." Before passing on to Upper Canada (*see* below), Beecham had won the assent of the eastern mainland to his plans. On his return from the west, he held a meeting of delegates from the Maritime Districts (including Newfoundland), in which the new Conference

was formally constituted. Over 13,000 Church-members were reported in the four Districts, employing 88 ministers and 102 Local Preachers; of the 16 schools registered, 15 were in Newfoundland. The islanders at first demurred to amalgamation (politically, Newfoundland still holds aloof from the Dominion of Canada); but they were happily persuaded, on the advice of Richey and Knight, to throw in their lot with their neighbours.

Not till 1875 did the E.B.A. Conference unite itself with that of Canada. In 1874 and 1883, by successive unions, the various Methodisms of the Dominion were welded together. Thus "the Methodist Church of Canada" was formed, including the entire Methodist flock of Christ and stretching from the eastern to the western ocean.

Canada

Methodist Lower Canada had been separated administratively from Upper Canada in 1820, under the circumstances related on p. 45; it remained as a Mission District governed by the British Conference until the year 1854, when it was reunited to the Upper Province. The history of Methodism in Lower Canada during the twenty-one years covered by this Chapter, was that of difficult but steady progress, marked by few salient events. The (Roman Catholic) French-Canadians occupied the settled districts. The English colonists of this period were mainly pioneers and backwoodsmen; in seeking them out, the Preachers spent a life of adventure and privation. In 1835–36 a notable revival took place —most marked in Montreal and Stanstead, in which latter town William Squire* was exercising "his tender and persuasive ministry." Helpers came in from neighbouring Churches, and British, American, and Canadian reapers plied the sickle side by side.

The progress of the work was checked by the political rebellion of 1837 (*see* p. 137), which awakened the dormant French and English antagonism, the turmoil being aggravated by raids from the United States. A period of religious stagnation ensued. To the Canadian Conference formed in 1854 Eastern Canada contributed something under 4,000 Church members and 20 ministers. In Quebec the Church numbered less than 300; in Montreal, close upon 700.

In Upper (Western) Canada the course of Methodism did not yet run smooth. The Union concluded with the British Conference in 1833 (*see* p. 45) eventuated in a new rupture. Formerly

* William Squire (1825–52), like Enoch Wood, was an English missionary to the West Indies, who removed to North America in search of health.

the contention lay between English and American interests ; now the old jealousy of Anglicanism and Dissent broke out on this distant field. The trouble commenced some years before the Union, through a contemptuous attack on Methodism made by a clerical dignitary. Egerton Ryerson replied with a spirit and effectiveness which aroused public attention, and brought the young, unknown Preacher at once into fame. The writer was the third of five brothers who entered the Methodist ministry—all men of marked ability. The father was a United Empire Loyalist, and a staunch Anglican ; Egerton inherited his gallant spirit, but entertained opposite views in Church-politics ; to his mother he owed his devout simplicity and love of learning. When scarcely out of his Probation, he was appointed, in 1829, editor of the Connexional newspaper, the *Christian Guardian*, which under his direction, adopting the watchword of " Liberty and Equal Rights," became the most popular journal in the Province. The chief bone of contention was " the Clergy Reserve Fund." In the early days of the Colony a seventh part of the public lands had been reserved by law for the support of " the Protestant Clergy." According to " the Church " party, this expression signified the Anglican clergy and no others ; the Presbyterians and Methodists argued for the inclusion of all Protestant ministers of religion. Ryerson flung himself into the struggle, and gathered allies from many quarters. Some of these were involved in the rebellion of 1837, and association with them brought a cloud on Ryerson's reputation, which, however, his loyal bearing soon dispelled in Canada. The controversy was ultimately settled by the appointment of a Government Commission, on whose recommendation the Clergy Fund was utilised for common public purposes.

Meanwhile misgivings arose in England respecting the anti-Anglican Colonial party. British Methodism retained much of the filial regard cherished by its founder for the Established Church, under whose shadow it had grown up. Its leaders took umbrage at the attitude of the Colonials toward this venerable Communion ; Ryerson had raised the flag of " Disestablishment," the very mention of which was forbidden at home. The British Conference felt itself compromised by the entanglement of Canadian Methodism with " party politics." The situation was complicated by a dispute over the appropriation of a pecuniary grant made by the Canadian Government for " missionary work amongst the Indians and destitute settlers." Dr. Alder, a former Canadian minister, was sent over from the London Mission House

with the hope of allaying the strife. His remonstrances were unavailing: "Are you sure"—so Ryerson challenged him in the *Guardian*—"that you are called of God to make Methodism an agency for the promotion of a national establishment in this new country, in the teeth of an overwhelming majority of the inhabitants? . . . Mr. Wesley and his coadjutors left their deliberate judgment that 'there is no instance of, nor ground at all for, a national Church in the New Testament.' . . . How can any true Wesleyan convert that into a matter of faith, for which 'there is no instance in the New Testament'?" Attempts to restrain Ryerson's pen were resented by the Canadians and precipitated the rupture, which came about in 1840. With earnest professions of amity, the union therefore was dissolved. Fourteen of the ministers present at the Canadian Conference—including the revered William Case (*see* pp. 43–5), Joseph Stinson, Ephraim Evans, and Matthew Richey—took part with the British Conference, and separated from their brethren amid a scene of "indescribable emotion." The Canadian Conference at this time numbered 75 ministers, with 14,000 Church-members.

The parting did not prove permanent. By the year 1846 the Canadian battle for religious equality was won; the passions it engendered quickly died down; and the *Christian Guardian* proclaimed a truce. Dr. Ryerson's energies were absorbed in the new office of "General Superintendent of Schools," which he filled for many years with eminent ability. The separation of 1840 had left behind it no rancour, and was soon regretted on both sides. A formidable Adventist propaganda*, introduced from the United States, disturbed Methodism throughout Canada; this trouble quickened the desire for reunion.

Dr. Alder appeared once more on the scene, under happier auspices; he was invited to preside over the Canadian Conference of 1847, which Richey also attended as Chairman (under the British Conference) of the District of Lower Canada, and Enoch Wood from New Brunswick—both helping to make peace. The cause of the old quarrel had disappeared; the two Canadas, with their common task in the Missions to the Indians, had everything to gain by amalgamation. The constitution of 1833 (*see* p. 45) was restored by unanimous consent, on the understanding that the President of the Canadian Conference and the Secretary of Missions should be annually appointed by the British

* The Adventists proclaimed the imminence of the Second Coming of Christ; but they associated with their Millenarianism other tenets destructive of Church-life and Methodist order.

Conference ; that the British Missionary Society should subsidise and control the Indian Missions, and the pioneer work in new settlements ; but that in other respects the Canadian Conference should be wholly independent. The Colonial Circuits included in the " Missions " of Western Canada passed from British to Canadian jurisdiction. " The Wesleyan Conference in Canada " was thus re-established, with a ministry numbering 160 and a Church-membership of nearly 22,000. The Church had grown in numbers by 50 per cent. during the interval of separation. A period of great advance followed on this reconciliation. The country was prosperous, and the Church made strenuous efforts to overtake the march of immigration. The smooth working of the Connexional machinery, amid no ordinary possibilities of friction, was largely due to the wise administration and perfect temper of Dr. Enoch Wood, who was brought over from New Brunswick (*see* p. 134) to be made Superintendent of the Western Missions, and served in this office until the close of his lengthened ministry.

A further devolution came about a few years afterwards. In 1852 the British W.M.M.S. proposed to hand over its Hudson Bay Mission (*see* p. 140) to the Canadian Conference ; a couple of years later a scheme was framed for incorporating the Indian Missions of the North-west, and the whole work of the Lower Canadian District, with the same body. These plans, drawn up by Dr. Beecham and approved by the British Conference, were carried into effect in 1854, a year previously to the formation of the Conference of the Maritime Provinces (*see* pp. 135–6). By the next year, the entire charge of Methodism in North America had passed from the hands of the Mother Church to those of her well-grown and capable daughters. In 1855 the Canadian Conference, after the above enlargements, comprised 262 ministers, and something short of 40,000 Church-members.

Canadian Missions had been distinguished as " Domestic " and " Indian." The former, concerned with the evangelization of the frontier settlements, supplemented the work of the Church in the older colonial Districts. As the " Missions " promoted by the Society in England grew into self-supporting Churches, they were transferred to the list of colonial " Circuits," while the missionaries pushed out to the frontiers. A continual readjustment thus went on between British and Colonial jurisdiction, until in 1854 the dual control ceased, as we have related.

The commencement of the Indian Missions, in 1822, has been already narrated (*see* p. 44). William Case and Joseph Stinson

(*see* p. 46) were their two foster-fathers. The latter—an Englishman, whose ministry extended from 1823 to 1862—ranks amongst our missionary heroes. Inured to the hardships and perils of the wilderness, with a cultivated mind, a winning address, and great administrative talent, he was well-adapted to the work amongst the native tribes. An efficient band of helpers was raised up, many of them of Indian birth. The shy Redskins, retreating before the advance of the colonists, were tracked to their forest homes, and the word of life was brought to them. Industrial schools were opened, in which their children were trained to habits of steady labour and domestic comfort, along with Christian faith. Alas, the trader followed in the preacher's trail, purveying the deadly "fire-water," which too often blighted his work and produced a worse than heathen savagery. But through the united efforts of the missionary Churches, the Indians on British territory have been in good measure reclaimed, and there is hope that the race may be saved for Christendom and civilisation. The Government has consulted for their interests and striven to deal fairly by them; in many instances, the missionaries have acted as mediators and protectors.

The Hudson Bay (Indian) Mission originated in 1837, apart from that of West Canada. The famous Trading Company of this region, recognising the commercial benefit of sound missionary work, in 1837 proposed to the W.M.M.S., on favourable terms, the planting of Missions to the Indians at their mercantile stations, which extended far beyond the Colonial borders. Accordingly, in the spring of 1840, James Evans (brother of the Ephraim already referred to: *see* p. 135) was instructed to proceed to Norway House at the head of Lake Winnipeg—then a lonely fort of the H. B. Company—which was made the centre of the new enterprise. Evans had already rendered ten years' excellent service amongst the Indians of Upper Canada. He was joined by three young missionaries from England: one of these was Robert Terrill Rundle, who penetrated a thousand miles further west, to the site of the present city of Edmonton (in Alberta), and acquired a marvellous influence over the tribes bordering on the Rocky Mountains. He returned to England, broken down, after eight years of missionary work; but at the time of his death, in 1896, Rundle's name was still revered by the Indians of the Saskatchewan country.

Education, here as elsewhere, was the handmaid of evangelism. James Evans earned the gratitude of the whole Indian people by his invention of the Syllabic Characters for the Cree language.

This was a stroke of genius. The system was so simple that the dullest native could learn it; and so perfectly adapted to Red Indian vocalisation, that it could be applied to all the indigenous dialects. The Evans Syllabary has immensely facilitated the printing of Scripture and the production of native literature. The difficulties in the way of utilising his discovery were such as hardly another man than James Evans would have surmounted. Paper and ink, type and printing-press alike were wanting. Birch-bark served him for *paper*, as it did our Saxon forefathers; *ink* he manufactured from a mixture of soot and sturgeon-oil; a jack-screw was manipulated to do the work of the *press*. He collected from the traders the lead-foil in which their consignments of tea were packed; melting this down, he succeeded, with infinite pains, in moulding and casting his *type*. With such rude apparatus this indomitable man printed portions of Scripture and simple hymns, in sufficiency for the use of his people. Education now went on apace. Wandering hunters carried the wonderful art of writing and reading to the remotest corners of the continent; and the message of salvation was spelled out by lonely wigwam fires, where no missionary's foot had ever trod.

Australasia

When Joseph Orton was sent out to take charge of the Societies in New South Wales, the Australian Mission, from the causes indicated in Chapter IV., had become almost the despair of the Mission House. Orton writes: "When I arrived in December, 1831, the cause was indeed low, with but little prospect of success, excepting in Van Diemen's Land." After fifteen years' labour, the whole membership of the District amounted to only one hundred and sixty persons. And amongst this small constituency drastic discipline was necessary; "weeping like a child" as he presided over his first Synod, the new Chairman did his duty manfully. From this date a new era began. Vigour was infused into the work of the Mission both in town and country; its property was set upon a sound basis; public respect was recovered; and relations of confidence were restored between the missionaries and the directorate. In the four years of Orton's administration the Society increased threefold in Sydney, and by fourfold in the District at large. In 1836 Van Diemen's Land was made a separate District, taking Orton for its Chairman who now left behind him in New South Wales "a most loving people." This courageous and saintly man, who saved Australian Methodism, had permanently damaged his health through

hardships endured earlier in the West Indies (1826–30). He laboured a few years longer in Tasmania, introducing Methodism at Melbourne in 1836–40 (*see* p. 145), and died off Cape Horn on his voyage to England in 1842.

John M'Kenny, who had been transferred from Ceylon (*see* pp. 78, 79), consolidated and extended Orton's work at Sydney; in the eight years of his Chairmanship the N.S.W. District multiplied its membership five times. Five recruits arrived along with M'Kenny, including Daniel J. Draper (*see* p. 144), along with Frederick Lewis, a brilliant preacher "full of fire and love." William Butters (*see* p. 146) preceded these by a couple of years. By the year 1844, when M'Kenny laid down his office Methodism had reached the younger Colonies: Adelaide and Perth were included in his diocese, and Melbourne in the Van Diemen's Land District.

A single example will show how the Church spread through the swiftly multiplying settlements, when discipline and confidence were once established. In 1837, Jeremiah Ledsham, a zealous and able Irish Local Preacher, settled at Maitland, a small town situated on Hunter's River, far to the north of Sydney. Finding in his new home no public religious ordinances, with the aid of a Methodist cabinet-maker he discovered, Ledsham fitted up a disused billiard-room for Divine service, and invited his neighbours to hear the Gospel, holding public prayer-meetings also twice a week. God's blessing was on His servant's work; and a Society-class was carefully formed out of the seekers for salvation. A chapel now was wanted; the little congregation raised for the purpose nearly £300, which was doubled by the assistance of the Sydney Methodists, and of a Government grant-in-aid; and the humble sanctuary was opened free of debt. All this had been accomplished before any missionary appeared in Maitland, so that when, in 1849, Jonathan Innes was appointed as minister, he found a healthy Church already in being and the nucleus of a Methodist Circuit provided.

To succeed John M'Kenny William B. Boyce (*comp.* pp. 31, 90) was sent from England in 1845, with the enlarged authority of "General Superintendent of the Australian and Van Diemen's Land District." "Australia Felix" (afterwards Victoria), "South Australia," and "Western Australia" formed sections of this prodigious diocese. Boyce, now at the height of his uncommon powers, proved equal to the responsibility. The work of evangelization and Church-extension went on apace in all directions. Other helpers came on the field about this time,

who proved themselves laborious missionaries and master-builders of the Church—amongst them John Eggleston, Henry H. Gaud, William Longbottom, John A. Manton. A fine and relatively large body of Local Preachers was raised up in the Colonies, by whose aid Methodism was enabled to overtake the population, which poured in at an unexampled rate, and ranged over the vast hinterland. The memory of its pioneer Local Preachers is cherished by Australian Methodism to this day with gratitude and reverence. The work of those creative years owed much of its success to the generalship of William Boyce. His sagacity and shrewd mother-wit were invaluable in dealing with the knotty questions of ecclesiastical economy and the unconventional situations which arose.

Western Australia, occupied in 1829, is the oldest of the British Colonies on the mainland, next to New South Wales ; but it has been the slowest in development. For eleven years a single clergyman and a single schoolmaster had to suffice for the religious needs of the town of Perth, and of the squatters spread over the neighbouring country. A Methodist Preacher had long been in request, when in 1840 John Smithies, who had seen service in Newfoundland, was despatched to " Swan River,"—chiefly, however, with a view to missioning the Aborigines. There Smithies remained, solitary, for twelve long years. The situation was heart-breaking. " We are weary," he writes in 1847, " and ought to be, of being shut up, of having our hands tied, of going through a monotonous work from day to day, just holding our position." Single-handed as he was, this earnest missionary, while ministering to the colonists, gathered into an industrial school the wild native children, and taught them so efficiently that the Anglican Bishop of Adelaide, visiting the place in 1850, testifies that " more had been well done " for the native people " there than in any of the colonies eastward " (*comp.* pp. 48, 95, 145). About this time the colonial work at Perth became encouraging ; a second minister was appointed in 1852. In 1855 " Western Australia " was constituted a separate District, including four Circuits : it was still, however, something of a skeleton, containing but 67 Church-members, with two ministers. The Colony numbered 5,000 white people.

The first party of immigrants to South Australia, arriving in 1836, included a number of Methodists, who forthwith formed themselves into two Classes—for men and women—and began to hold open-air services by way of public worship. There being no ordained Minister within reach, the Society chose quarterly

one of their number to act as Superintendent of their meetings, and to administer the Sacraments. The arrangement led to bickering: "We could not agree," said one of the party later "who should be Superintendent. But God pitied us and sent us a minister, by wrecking one upon our coast!" This was William Longbottom, whose health had failed after four years' work in India (1830–34), and who was now appointed to Western Australia (Smithies, as we have related, took Longbottom's place there). His ship went ashore below Encounter Bay. No lives were lost; but the party suffered extremely in the ten weeks' journey, much of it on foot, which brought them to Adelaide. Here Longbottom found an organized Church, with a ready-made staff of Class-leaders and Local Preachers, wanting only a minister at their head. The people would not hear of parting with the man of God so strangely sent them; he received permission to remain.

Longbottom proved a nursing-father to this infant Church; but his recent hardships had shaken his delicate health; within two years he was obliged to remove to Tasmania. Ill-health compelled the retirement of his successor in turn. Deprived of its ministers, the Adelaide Church was all but destroyed by schism, so that its name disappears from the *Minutes* of 1844. At this juncture Longbottom, finding his strength partially restored, returned to South Australia. Before his superannuation (1846), the breach was healed and Methodism re-established in the Colony.

In the year last-named, Daniel James Draper (*see* p. 142) was appointed to Adelaide, with an Assistant, and found a Circuit laid out for him 130 miles long and 30 wide—its existence a proof of the zeal and assiduity of the Local Preachers marshalled under his predecessor. Soon the opening of the copper-mines brought shoals of immigrants to South Australia—consisting largely of Cornish miners, and amongst these many Methodists. Under Draper's leadership, full advantage was taken of the tide. The staff was reinforced from England; young men of promise were pressed into service in the Colony. Yet churches could not be built fast enough. Draper writes in 1849: "Our chapels are all too small by half; and as building is very expensive, it almost distracts me as to how the wants of the places are to be met." Scheme after scheme this bold builder carried through with success. Judicious and far-seeing in his plans, he was prompt in action, and was borne forward by the confidence of his people.

Draper's work was in full progress at Adelaide, when in 1851 the discovery of gold in Victoria disorganized the South Australian

community. " Trustees, Local Preachers, Leaders, members left the Colony in the general rush." Congregations were broken up, chapels closed ; in some neighbourhoods so few of the male population were left, that " to see a man pass was an event which drew the children to the doors ! " Debts, on empty chapels, became a crushing burden ; but for the assistance of the Committee at home, the Mission would have gone into bankruptcy. In a few months the crisis was over ; money poured into the Colony from the gold-fields ; the truant miners gradually returned to their homes ; the empty chapels and depleted Classes filled again. Through wise and patient care the loss resulting from this unhingement was minimised. Draper left Adelaide in 1855, amid universal regret. During his residence the population of the Colony had quadrupled, and the Methodist Society had grown in a still larger proportion. South Australia entered the Australasian Conference with a registered Church-membership of 1,500, served by a staff of 10 ministers and 106 Local Preachers.

Victoria was opened up by a Tasmanian Company, which purchased half a million acres of land from the natives, and selected the site of the future Melbourne as " the place for a village ! " The first party of colonists was commended to God in prayer in the Wesleyan Church in Launceston (Tasmania), on the evening before they sailed. This was in the year 1835. In April, 1836, Joseph Orton (*see* p. 141), then Chairman of the Tasmanian District, visited the settlement, and preached under a clump of trees to the entire colony, of fifty persons. A crowd of the blacks drew near, attracted by the music ; it is remembered that Orton on this occasion earnestly charged his white hearers with their duty to the heathen, whom they were dispossessing. Before long a Methodist Society was formed, and a chapel built ; in 1838 the Melbourne Society numbered eighteen persons.

The British Government appointed " Protectors " of the natives in Victoria. Amongst the earliest of these were two earnest Methodists of the names of Dredge and Parker, who proved a valuable addition to the little Society. Through their influence, and on the representations of Orton, a couple of missionaries were sent to Victoria to labour amongst the Aborigines. They were stationed at a spot 50 miles or more from Melbourne, where a Native Reserve was formed under the name of Buntingdale. (The history of this experiment has been related on p. 95.)

Distance prevented any adequate ministration to the British settlers on the part of the Buntingdale missionaries, and the

Tasmanian Chairman could seldom visit them. On the eve of his departure for England, Orton laboured, however, in Melbourne for several months, prior to the arrival of Samuel Wilkinson (1841), who was the first resident Wesleyan Minister. Edward Sweetman followed him, though not immediately, in 1846—a man greatly beloved and revered, under whose care the Church was soundly built up. But further help was desperately needed for the growing population: "We have been looking for the *John Wesley*" (the Missionary ship), writes Sweetman in 1847; "and what is she about to bring us?—*one man*; a cargo of disappointment!"

A Providential appointment was made in the selection, in 1850, of William Butters (*comp.* p. 142) for the Superintendency at Melbourne—a missionary of colonial experience, and moreover "of great sagacity, of broadest sympathies, and of manly bearing . . . a *primus inter pares*, a father to the younger men." He and his people set themselves to provide for the newcomers, who began to pour in by shiploads, as many as 2,000 being on one occasion landed in a single evening. They arrived often in pitiable plight, friendless and moneyless. A "Wesleyan Emigrants' Friends' Society" was started and an "Emigrants' Home" opened, which proved the salvation, both for body and soul, of many a forlorn adventurer. The resources of the Colony were taxed to their uttermost to cope with the influx occasioned by the gold-fever of 1851–52; it was "a period of the wildest excitement, the like of which was never seen before in any part of the British dominions." William Butters was the man for the emergency, and was nobly supported by his people. The Colonial Governor, a Moravian *Latrobe* and worthy of his name, lent every assistance in his power to the missionaries. The authorities of the W.M.M.S. in London were alive to the situation. Four new missionaries were promised from home; each of the Missionary Secretaries wrote in brotherly sympathy and encouragement.

The most strenuous efforts were made to supply the mining townships with religious ordinances. Two young preachers were sent to the mines, who shared the lot of the diggers, building their own huts and ministering amongst the rough camps wherever opportunity offered. Local Preachers and Class-leaders gathered little groups about them, in homely fashion, and sought to direct the gold-seekers to the heavenly treasure. Said the Bishop of Melbourne, referring to this crisis: "The Wesleyans in particular succeed in making provision, even for such a population as that upon the gold-fields." The firm yet elastic texture

of the Methodist economy, which serves, when rightly used, to mobilise the forces of the Church for any given purpose, enabled it to deal with the unprecedented situation arising in Australia. During the five years of William Butters' Superintendency the population of Victoria increased fourfold, and the Methodist Society multiplied by 3½, standing at the figure of 2,000 when the new Conference was formed in 1855. This rapid progress proved solid; and the work done amongst the gold-diggers of Victoria has borne fruit in many lands.

The four Provinces we have dealt with were constituted into Methodist Districts in 1855. Queensland was not then ripe for separation, and remained attached to New South Wales. The membership of the Moreton Bay (now Brisbane) Circuit, at this date, was sixty-one. William Moore and John Watsford,* appointed about 1850, were successful Methodist pioneers in Queensland. A company of pious Germans, who had come out earlier as lay-missionaries, joined the Society in this Colony; several of them became useful Local Preachers.

Methodism in Tasmania ran a less eventful, but not less successful, course than on the continent (for its beginnings, *see* Chapter IV.). Nathaniel Turner was at work here in 1833, and his ministry was richly blessed. In 1835 the three Circuits of the island became a separate District, presided over by Joseph Orton (*see* pp. 141, 145), a true pastor-bishop. William Butters (*see* p. 146) was missionary to the penal settlement of Port Arthur (replacing the Macquarie Harbour establishment: *see* p. 47), at which the most criminal convicts were confined: "Probably no part of the mission-field was so full of peril to mind and body as Port Arthur." When in 1844 an Anglican chaplain was substituted for the unofficial Wesleyan minister, the Governor bears witness that "the duties of the station have always been performed in a zealous, spiritual, laborious, and self-denying manner." Fruit was gathered from this forbidding field which abundantly repaid the painful sowing.

The name of John Allen Manton (1830–65) became endeared, both to convicts and colonists, throughout Tasmania. His memory is especially associated with the development of Higher

* Watsford, to whose heroic service in Fiji reference has been made (p. 108), was the first Australian-born Wesleyan Minister. His father, converted under Samuel Leigh, was one of the original Paramatta Methodists. He himself owed his awakening to Draper (1838), at a period of the latter's ministry which he had thought peculiarly unfruitful.

Education, in which Tasmania preceded the sister colonies. Its salubrious climate induced Australian parents to send their children across to the island, when suitable boarding-schools were provided. Horton College was opened in 1855, Manton becoming its first President. To the formation of the Australasian Conference the Tasmanian District, with Manton for its Chairman, contributed 5 ministers and 700 Church-members.

In New Zealand the Anglican and Methodist Missions to the savage Maoris preceded the colonial work of the Church (*see* p. 32). Up till 1839 the British residents were chance-comers, often of dangerous character (*see* p. 97). From that time the stream of immigration set in, which has made of New Zealand one of the most thriving and self-respecting countries of the British Empire.

To the Australasian Conference the two N. Z. Districts—of Auckland (north) and Wellington (south)—contributed, in 1854, 6 English Circuits, with 13 chapels and 21 other preaching-places, employing 6 ministers and 49 local Preachers. The Church-membership was 508; Methodist adherents were estimated at five times that number. (For the statistics of the Maori Church, at this date furnishing the bulk of the membership, *see* p. 99.)

In the early stages of the Mission, Native and English work were intermingled. The Natives gathered freely round the English settlements for trade, and each missionary ministered to his fellow-countrymen as they arrived, to the best of his power. Thus the New Zealand Preachers of the 'forties and 'fifties were bilingual and served both races. Amongst these were men of note and power: James Watkin, gentle and full of quiet humour, "moving as a father amongst his children"; Samuel Ironside, "a son of thunder"; John Aldred, whose "courtesy and pastoral fidelity endeared him to old and young"; James Buller, sturdy and energetic, a capable man of affairs; John Warren, an exquisite preacher; Thomas Buddle, with "his wonderful gift for setting men to work"—a rare combination of fervour and evangelical force with humility, sound sense, and business talent. Thanks to the climate, the missionary pioneers, like those of South Africa (*see* p. 81), were able to give their lives to the country, and New Zealand Methodism came to boast its grand old men. Its healthy growth and unchequered progress may be ascribed in great part to this circumstance.

The harbours of New Zealand afforded numerous gateways and starting-points for colonisation. Wellington (then Port Nicholson), at the southern extremity of the North Island, was the fir

station occupied by a Methodist colonial minister. James Buller happened to be there on Maori business, when the first emigrant ship appeared. Amongst the passengers were a number of Cornish Methodists, whom he at one formed into a Society. In the following year (1840) John Aldred was appointed to shepherd the little flock, and conducted English worship in a corner of the large Native church. By 1843 two ministers were required for the Port Nicholson Circuit, which in 1845 was strong enough to maintain them both. Able and generous colonial laymen were forthcoming to aid in the promotion of Methodism—David Lewis, for example, who for forty years was Steward of the Wellington Circuit.

At Taranaki (later New Plymouth), in 1841, Charles Creed—an able vernacular missionary—had just arrived to minister to the Maoris, when a ship-load of colonists was landed. Amongst them, to be sure, a group of Methodists presented themselves. These became the nucleus of the Colonial Church on the western side of the island.

The English work at Auckland, the northern capital of North Island, was commenced about the same time, when Buller, visiting his Maori people, found a congregation of English newcomers, to whom he preached in a saw-pit. In 1842 he reports a Church of 13 Europeans and 150 Maoris. Next year a chapel was built, mainly out of local resources. In 1844 Walter Lawry (*see* p. 47) was appointed " General Superintendent of Polynesian Missions," and made his headquarters at Auckland: " his luminous and powerful preaching " drew many hearers, and a larger chapel was required. When in 1848 it was announced that, through financial straits in England, the number of Colonial missionaries must be reduced, the Auckland laymen convened a meeting on the subject; and " though they were all still struggling men, they unanimously resolved to subscribe £400 if the Mission staff were sustained "—and fulfilled their purpose. Two important institutions were founded here a little later—the Native Training College of Three Kings, and Wesley College for the education of ministers' children. Alexander Reid and Joseph Horner Fletcher, both superior preachers, were put in charge of these establishments. In two years the Auckland Society was doubled.

Samuel Ironside, appointed in 1842, was the first English minister of Nelson in the South Island. Here again the early colonists brought Methodism with them; chief amongst these was a gifted Local Preacher of the name of Hough. Until 1845, when the first Methodist chapel was opened, a rude sanctuary,

called "Ebenezer," was used in turn by the Churches of Nelson.

Canterbury and Otago were settlements made in the South Island about the year 1850—the former by an Anglican, the latter by a Presbyterian colony. From neither of them, however, could Methodism be kept out; by 1854 both places appear in the list of Circuits.

Here the Methodism of the South Seas passes from our field of view, at the point when its early difficulties had been surmounted and it had grown to independent life. Robert Young was sent by the British Conference of 1852 to visit Australia and Polynesia as the Missionary Society's deputy, in order to consult with the local Churches upon the measures to be taken with a view to this eventuality. The Deputy was excellently suited to his office. A minister of commanding and popular gifts, possessing a large experience and grasp of affairs, Robert Young was universally welcome, and spared himself no fatigue. The report he brought home, in 1854, was such as to encourage an immediate settlement of the Australasian daughter in her own house.

So the new Conference was established in 1855, under the Presidency of William B. Boyce, who was marked out for this eminence by universal esteem (*see* p. 143). The Australasian Church embraced the four Australian Districts, Van Diemen's Land, and New Zealand (in two Districts), to which were attached the Friendly Islands and Fiji. As in the case of the Canadian Conference, the English Missionary Society agreed to make yearly and terminable grants-in-aid for the missions taken over by Colonial Methodism. Since the area covered by this Conference was so wide and the Districts remote from each other, the General Conference of Australasia came to be held triennially, while New South Wales (including Queensland), Victoria and Tasmania, South and West Australia, and New Zealand had their subordinate Annual Conferences. In the end New Zealand detached herself from Australia, preferring a separate administration.

In these countries, as in British North America (*see* p. 136), the separated Methodist Churches have been drawn together in recent years, and in 1894 the first General Conference of "The Methodist Church of Australasia" assembled in Melbourne. Unions with other Evangelical Churches are contemplated.

* * * * *

The French Conference, formed in 1852, was the earliest of the Affiliated Conferences; the plan of Affiliation was first devised

on its behalf. The smallness and material poverty of this Church, whose members were less than a thousand and widely dispersed in France, forbad the thought of independence (*comp.* p. 129). But the very natural jealousy of English interference prejudiced the cause of the Gospel in this country; if Methodism was to take root in France, it must be nationalised. Moreover, the policy of the Second Empire, established in 1851, rendered foreign management extremely difficult. In this case, separation was almost inevitable; our French Preachers and people, few as they were, accepted the situation with a courageous spirit. Through God's mercy, Charles Cook (*see* p. 129) remained in a vigorous old age to preside over the little Conference, and to nurse it through its infancy.

CHAPTER XII

The Opening of China

South China

Up till 1835, when the African Gold Coast and the Fijian Islands were occupied, Methodist missions were continuously spreading into fresh fields. For the next seventeen years no new Pagan land was entered, the Society contenting itself with advance and consolidation upon the areas already staked out. But in 1852 the call came to take part in the greatest of all missionary tasks—*the conversion of China.* The way had been prepared; the summons was imperative.

Robert Morrison, commissioned by the L.M.S. in 1807, was the first Protestant missionary to China. The country was at that time barred against foreigners; Morrison maintained a precarious residence at Canton* (the only Chinese port then open) with the status of interpreter to the East India Company, or in the neighbouring Portuguese colony of Macao. Here, while he gained a handful of Chinese converts, Dr. Morrison provided the implements for his successors, by the production of his Chinese Grammar and Dictionary and his translation of the Bible—achievements of immense industry and of permanent value.

* Canton, the provincial capital of the south, rivals Peking, the northern (political) capital, in size and importance, possessing a vast commerce and numbering more than a million souls.

He died in 1834, " not having received the promise " of China's salvation, but having paved the way for its fulfilment.

Through his labours, and those of his colleague Dr. Milne and his successors Drs. Medhurst and Lockhart, Chinese Missions assumed from the outset a scientific character. The Gospel enlisted the arts of literature and education, of medicine and philanthropy, welding them in alliance with preaching and the care of souls into a combination peculiarly adapted to the needs of the Chinese people. Other Protestant agencies followed in the wake of the L.M.S.

These also stood waiting on the threshold, until the doors of China were forced by the violence of war. The conflict of 1840–42—" the Opium War " as it is justly called, to England's shame—resulted in the opening of five Chinese ports to foreign trade, with the cession of the island of Hong Kong and its splendid harbour to Great Britain. China thus became our country's neighbour, in a very responsible sense. In consequence of the Treaty of Nanking (1842), many of the British and American Missionary Societies planted themselves at the opened Ports ; Methodism, however, was not prepared to grapple with China, and contributions toward the object were actually declined by the Mission House. The growth of the missionary income was arrested in the later 'forties (*see* Chapter XVI.), and the Society had contracted obligations in other quarters that seemed beyond its resources.

Yet China could not be denied. Thomas Farmer, the Missionary Treasurer, offered £1,000 toward the commencement of work in this field ; his proposal was supported by other liberal givers ; and urgent prayers to God for China's evangelization were ascending from Methodist lips. The recent war had drawn attention to this mysterious country, and revealed something of its need ; in many minds, the sense of the wrong done to China prompted the wish to offer Christian reparation. A Sub-committee of the Society was appointed in 1847 to gather information on the subject, and to prepare for action. Thus matters remained until 1850.

In that year a young farmer named George Piercy*, of the Pickering Circuit, led the way by sallying out as a private volunteer. This was no unconsidered adventure. Piercy was a well-informed young man, and a Local Preacher of recognised power. Eager from boyhood to see the world, he had already made two

* Mr. Piercy still survives (August, 1912), in retirement near London, the most venerable Methodist missionary now living.

voyages as a sailor, when his conversion to God turned this passion into a missionary channel, and China laid hold upon his heart. With some difficulty, he won consent at home; his father paid the passage-money and supplied an outfit. From the Missionary Society he sought nothing but its approval, and letters of introduction. Assured that God called him, he knew that his way was prepared.

Landing at Hong Kong in January, 1851, Piercy fell in with a Methodist Corporal, the last British soldier remaining out of a Society Class, of English and Chinese members, established on the Island seven years previously by the late Roisland Rees (father of the Rev. Allen Rees, and grandfather of Dr. Philip Rees, medical missionary to South China; *see* p. 157). Mr. Rees removed from Hong Kong in 1845, but to him belongs the honour of first planting Methodism on Chinese soil. The Corporal abovementioned conducted Piercy to Dr. Legge of the L.M.S., the famous Sinologist, who took the young adventurer into his house and gave him counsel and aid. During the few months spent in Hong Kong, Piercy preached to the soldiers and revived the Methodist Society amongst them. On his removal to Canton, he found good friends in the London missionaries of that city.

Piercy reported his movements and studies to the Mission House at home, and in 1852 made a formal offer of his services to the Society. His bold venture had stimulated Methodist interest in China, and on other grounds the projected mission had gained increasing favour; the Committee accepted his proposals. More than that, it was resolved to send him two helpers. One of the two was Josiah Cox, then a Richmond student, who had petitioned for service in China. Wesleyan Methodism was then staggering under the blows inflicted by the Reform agitation, and the Missionary Society was heavily in debt. At the same time, the prospect of the creation of the American and Australian Conferences (Chapter XI.) promised a lessening of expenditure upon the Society's older fields. It was impossible, however, to undertake this mission without some extraordinary provision for its maintenance. A separate "China Fund" was therefore started, to be kept distinct for five years and then merged in the general account—it was actually discontinued in 1861. The "China Breakfast Meeting" was instituted in 1854 to further the same object; for many years this remained a prominent function of the London Anniversary. New sources of liberality were thus opened, and the enterprise, commenced with hesitation, stimulated the zeal of the Church. When the China Mission

was undertaken, the Society's debt was £25,000; the balance gradually rectified itself, till in 1858 the debt had vanished! China proved a buoyancy instead of a burden to the missionary cause.

The proud exclusiveness of China was notorious; recent events had aggravated the hatred of foreigners, which was particularly strong in Canton, where they were best known. Nothing but the dread of the Western Powers made the existence of "the foreign devils" and their "foreign poison" possible at this time in Chinese cities. Infinite patience and tact, and the courage of men who counted not their lives dear unto themselves, were needed for Christ's messengers to gain a footing; these qualities were not wanting in them. By the year 1853 Piercy was able to open his first preaching-hall in Canton; he was assisted by Liang Afah, the earliest Chinese Protestant preacher, whose services were lent by the L.M.S. In 1856 Cox also was preaching in the vernacular. By this time the English response to the appeals for China had been so generous, that the Missionary Committee was able to double its Canton staff.

Premises had been secured, with much difficulty, in the native city; a small congregation and school had been gathered; journeys had been made around Canton, familiarising the people with the missionaries' presence; books of Scripture had been widely circulated: little further progress could be reported, when in the autumn of 1856 the outbreak of the second Chinese war (connected, like the first, with the opium-traffic) compelled a retreat to Macao. Here, however, the mission-staff found work to do, and the newcomers prosecuted their language-studies. In February, 1857, the first baptism of native converts took place, at Macao; five adult Chinese members of Society were reported at the close of this year—a hardly won first-fruits. Re-entering Canton in autumn, 1858, the missionaries found the people more approachable—a change largely due to the good behaviour of the British troops, who had occupied the city.

Not until the conclusion of the war of 1857–60 was it possible for mission-work to proceed securely in Canton, and to extend itself into the Province; effective advance dates from this point. The toleration of Christianity had indeed been formally guaranteed by the Imperial Edict of 1844; but the Treaty of Tientsin (1860) secured to foreigners at last the right to travel inland. The vast interior of China thus became accessible, and the field was opened for the great work of the China Inland Mission, set on foot by Hudson Taylor in 1866. "The period of penetration" now began.

With the enlarged opportunities, a fresh impetus was given to Methodist activity in Canton. Josiah Cox removed to Central China (*see* below); but reinforcements were forthcoming from home, including (within the 'sixties) such strong men as Silvester Whitehead and Thomas Gunn Selby, who became effective Chinese scholars and preachers. The newly-established Women's Auxiliary (Chapter XIII.) sent excellent workers to carry forward the teaching of girls, commenced by Mrs. Piercy in 1854; boys' schools were multiplied, as fast as means and agents were forthcoming. So early as 1858, Mr. Cox, assisted by a Chinese Dr. Wang of the L.M.S., had started a dispensary in Canton; but proper medical work did not commence in the District (on our part) till 1880, when Charles Wenyon joined the Mission staff. In China, conspicuously, teaching and healing are the potent commendations of Christ's Gospel—the latter conveying the Saviour's love to those most needing it in sensible form, and the former fostering the growth of the Christian family and community, while both conciliate the good-will of the unbeliever and break the powers of witchcraft and superstition.

At Fatshan, "the Birmingham of South China," situated 14 miles south-west of Canton in the same river-delta—mission-work commenced in 1860: this city has supplied a stubborn yet not unfruitful soil for the seed of the Kingdom. Here the first self-supporting Chinese Methodist Church was raised up. The villages around Fatshan, and between it and Canton have been evangelized, and Christians are found in many of them. Sixty miles beyond Fatshan, in the same direction, lies Sunwui, the next principal station in the District, where a chapel was opened in 1871. In 1875 the Canton District included three Circuits, with six missionaries, assisted by Catechists, and with a Church-membership of 106.

The North River Mission, pioneered by Thomas G. Selby, was the chief outgrowth of the Mission in the years ensuing. Amongst the hills north of the Canton plain a simple, rural population was reached, more susceptible to the Gospel than the traders of the large cities. The Hakka dialect of North Kwangtung, differing considerably from the Cantonese, was a fresh barrier to the missionary's work; his reward lay in the interested attention and frank response of his unsophisticated hearers. Along this line the Canton District finds its most productive vein. The founding of the Fatshan Hospital (1881), which has become an educational as well as a philanthropic agency, training Chinese students and nurses for service elsewhere,

was a great event in this period. A third new development was the occupation of Hong Kong, where a Chinese minister was posted in 1884. In 1867—twelve years after the census previously given—the District, consisting now of five Circuits, had reached a Church-membership of four hundred and thirty-three. The staff included eight English missionaries and five Chinese ministers. Whitehead and Selby have been invalided home; George Piercy has been compelled to retire, after thirty-two years of toil and struggle. Grainger Hargreaves (from 1878 onwards) figures on the Stations, Charles Bone (1880), William Bridie and Samuel G. Tope (1882)—each of whom has done notable work; and the beloved Roderick J. J. Macdonald is by Dr. Wenyon's side at Fatshan.

The year 1890 was memorable for the District. A Theological Institute was opened in Canton, to train native pastors and catechists. New and well-equipped hospital-buildings replaced the makeshift structure hitherto used at Fatshan. Work was commenced, and land purchased, at Wuchow, an important trading town across the Kwangtung border. Wuchow supplies a base for advance along the West River (meeting the North River at Canton), the basin of which forms the great south-western province of Kwangsi. In 1888 an English minister had been given to Hong Kong—already one of the chief marts of the East—to care for the British soldiers and sailors, while superintending the native work. Somewhat later the Heung Shan Mission was started in the delta-region south of Canton, amongst a million of Chinese.

Taking our census at another 12 years' interval, in 1899, we find 1,313 Church-members, in 12 Circuits, with 7 English missionaries, 5 Chinese pastors, and 26 Catechists or "Chinese Lay Agents." The timely development of native agency, securing an economy of European service, has become a marked feature of this District. The native Circuits are advancing toward self-support at a gratifying rate. Work amongst women and the teaching of girls keep pace with the general advance of the Mission; its solid progress is due to this correspondence. Charles Bone has been Chairman of the District since 1893; he remains so to the present time.

In 1911 we find no new Circuits added to the District; but the North River (Hakka) and Kwangsi Sections are marked off for independent development. Growth is indicated by an increased membership of 2,215. Roderick Macdonald in 1904 opened his hospital in Wuchow and, alas, in 1906 was murdered by river

pirates. Blow has followed blow: within the last few months (August, 1912) we have been robbed by death of Philip Rees (*see* p. 153), a rarely gifted and nobly devoted young medical missionary.

The Kwangtung Province, under the rule of the late Chinese statesman, Li Hung-chang, was little affected by the Boxer rising of 1900 (*comp.* p. 162). Beyond the burning of Mission-premises and rough handling of native Christians here and there, the Church in the south was scarcely disturbed during this terrible outburst—an exemption due, not merely to the efficiency of the local Government, but to the working of the Christian leaven and the growing enlightenment of the people. For the same reasons, Canton and the Kwangtung Province have counted for much in the political revolution of the last two years.

Central China

The easy victory of the Allied Powers in 1858–60, and the large concessions made in the Treaties resulting therefrom, were due to the weakening of the Chinese Empire through the Taiping Rebellion, which lasted from 1851–64. This strange movement commenced in 1849 in South China, as a religious propaganda; its leader, Hung Siu-tsuen, was a kind of second-rate Chinese Muhammad, imbued with some tincture of Christianity and animated by a fierce hatred of idolatry. Before long the rising assumed a political, nationalist character, aiming at the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. Hung Siu-tsuen announced himself as the "Heavenly King," under the guidance of the Heavenly Father and the Heavenly Elder Brother (Christ), with whom he finally ranked himself as a third! Defeating the Imperial forces in the South, in 1852 Hung occupied Nanking, a former capital, and assumed the government of the adjoining provinces. This astonishing success excited hopes of the acceptance of Christianity and the regeneration of China, which proved illusive. Victory demoralised the rebels; their attempts on Peking failed. The Heavenly King grew more and more outrageous in his pretensions, and proved wholly wanting in statesmanship. The Taiping army, swelled by ruffians and outlaws from all quarters, became a marauding horde and laid waste the richest lands of the Empire; its overthrow effected, after a long and bloody struggle, by the aid of the British General Gordon, was an unspeakable relief.

In 1860 Josiah Cox, on furlough in England, received a letter from Hung Jen, a relative of the Heavenly King in high office at his court—a former catechist in our Canton Mission—inviting

him to Nanking. Cox accepted the invitation on his return to China; but he found Hung Jen powerless, and the revolution fallen into anarchy. Promptly quitting Nanking, he took the opportunity to visit the valley of the Yangtse, and sailed up this mighty river as far as Hankow, a city recently included amongst the Treaty Ports. This station had already been occupied by the L.M.S. Here, at the angles formed by the meeting of the Han and Yangtse Rivers, 680 miles from the ocean, stand the three cities of Wuchang, Hanyang, and Hankow, forming the largest aggregate of population in the Empire, and situated at its heart and centre. Cox saw at once the unique importance of this position; he wrote to the Mission House as follows: "Climbing to the top of the Tortoise Hill, I looked down on the ancient city of Hanyang, just rising from the desolations of the Taiping war; on the far-stretching walls of Wuchang, the seat of the provincial government; and on Hankow, a hive of six or seven hundred thousand people. . . . The sight of these vast multitudes, and the thought of their spiritual darkness, stirred my spirit and led me to pray"; in that prayer lay the seed of a mighty growth. Referring later to this triple city and the district around it, Cox said: "The whole heathen world cannot produce a field whose population is so great, accessible, and intelligent." Piercy had already, from Canton, suggested to the Home Committee the occupation of Hankow; and Cox, hopeful that the project would be approved, and finding that in consequence of the havoc wrought by the rebels it was difficult to secure rented premises, but easy at the moment to buy a suitable site, purchased land in Hankow on his own authority, begging the authorities to condone the irregularity. The Mission House knew its man; and William Arthur replied bidding Cox dismiss his fears: "I pray," he wrote, "that the ground you have secured in that vast city, may remain while the world stands a heritage of the Church, and become the site of many an event which angels will rejoice over and men unborn will weep to see." The mission to Central China was sanctioned, and Josiah Cox made its Superintendent. The wisdom of his plans, and the ability shown in their execution, were equal to their boldness.

Cox pleaded for a medical colleague; Dr. J. Porter Smith providentially volunteered at this juncture, and arrived in May, 1864,— the first-appointed medical missionary of Methodism (*see* however p. 155). Six years this skilful and devoted man spent in the healing of body and soul—he erected our first hospital in 1866; then he returned to England, with strength broken

David Hill distributing tickets for famine-relief to starving Chinese, in Shansi.

by excessive toil. Porter Smith's place was filled by a worthy successor in Dr. E. P. Hardey (son of E. J. Hardey, the Indian missionary : *see* p. 121), who gave a similar term of service to the Wuchang District.* After Hardey's retirement through failing health, the medical post remained vacant for twelve years (*see* p. 160). But the work of the founders was not lost ; the fame of the Mission spread far through this means, and a philanthropic character was acquired of inestimable value.

Josiah Cox was himself obliged to quit the field in 1875—he lived, mostly in retirement and infirmity, till the year 1906. But he left behind him able and trained lieutenants in William Scarborough and David Hill. The former—a man of strong and solid qualities—succeeded Cox in the superintendence of the Mission ; the latter worked as pioneer in opening new centres. By this time the English missionary staff numbered ten, including Dr. Hardey, with a single Chinese minister † ; the Church-membership of the District was 148. Beside the Three Cities, " Kwangchi and Wusueh," 120 miles down the river, formed the third Circuit ; David Hill commenced work here in 1870.

Evangelists and teachers, drawn from the native converts, were early trained for service ; the former were the scouts of the mission, and sowed the gospel-seed by the spoken and printed word over the district surrounding each station ; the latter were set down wherever settled adherents could be gathered. The colporteurs of the British and Foreign Bible Society not unfrequently opened the way for the missionary.

In 1877 there broke out in Northern China the most dreadful famine known to history, in which seventy millions of people suffered starvation and some ten millions perished. David Hill was set free for the work of relief ; he spent the following two years away from his District in ministering to the stricken population of the Northern Province of Shansi. The work of mercy wrought during the Great Famine profoundly impressed the Chinese people, and did much to disarm hostility to Christianity. The China Inland Mission reaped the harvest of David Hill's labours in Shansi.

The next forward movement in the Wuchang District was

* Although Hankow is the larger city, Wuchang, as the official capital of the Hupeh Province, gave its name to the Mission District.

† This was Chü Shao-an (1875–99), the first Protestant convert in Mid-China and a man greatly beloved and useful. When Chü Shao-an found that he must renounce either his lands or his faith, he said : " The property may go ! I believe in Jesus, and shall worship Him all the days of my life."

made at Teiàn (Teh-Ngan), 100 miles or more north-west of Hankow, where John William Brewer was the first missionary; here Dr. Arthur Morley, the grandson of George Morley (*see* p. 25), commenced medical work in 1888—(maintained by the Lay Mission referred to below). Other important developments took place about the same time. In 1884 the Wuchang High School was established, under the direction of Dr. W. T. A. Barber, with the design of giving a Christian education in Western Science along with the native classics and literature, to the boys of well-to-do Chinese families and the more intelligent sons of our own people. In 1887 Sydney Rupert Hodge resumed with vigour the medical work in Hankow (*see* p. 159), restoring the old hospital on a larger scale; a women's hospital was shortly added, built in commemoration of the Queen's Jubilee (1887) by English Methodist women, of which Grace Louisa Sugden was put in charge. The systematic education of girls was commenced at the same time (*comp.* p. 173).

The *China Lay Mission*, established in 1885 under the influence of the late Dr. W. F. Moulton and Mr. John Richard Hill, of York, greatly promoted the work of the Wuchang District. Already, twelve years earlier, Charles W. Mitchil had joined this Mission as an unpaid Lay Agent; he rendered valuable help until his death in 1892, especially in conversational preaching and book-selling. Similar assistance came, from 1890 onwards, from the *Joyful News* Mission, conducted by Thomas Champness, several of whose Agents have qualified for medical and other service in the regular ranks. To this arm of the service belonged William Argent, our first missionary martyr in China—a capable and lovable young fellow—who was murdered in a sudden riot at Wusueh on June 5th, 1891. This outbreak was the beginning of a storm of violence which spread through the Hupeh Province (*see* p. 164), and for a while compelled a retirement from the outlying stations. The marvel is that fatalities of this kind have been so rare during the sixty years of Methodist work in China, amid the manifold "perils from the heathen" encountered by the missionaries, and the "perils of rivers" and "perils of robbers" besetting them. A guarding Providence has been manifest on many occasions of deadly plot and furious assault.

The sad loss of life at Wusueh was overruled for good. For the representations made upon it to Peking drew from the Chinese Government a decree, reinforcing the edict of 1844 (*see* p. 152), that Christianity should be counted a tolerated religion throughout China; that its missionaries should be protected, and its converts

unmolested. Riots and persecutions were still frequent (*comp.* pp. 162–3) ; but the law was henceforth unmistakably against the disturbers. In the same Wusueh Circuit, about this time, a case arose of critical importance to Chinese Christians. The names of certain members of the Lan clan, who had joined the Church, were struck out of the family registers—an act depriving the persons concerned of their hereditary property. Local remonstrances were in vain ; but on appeal to the Imperial Court the sentence was quashed, and it was pronounced that clan-status and rights of inheritance remain unaffected by the profession of Christianity. These two Edicts form a kind of Magna Charta to the native Church.

David Hill took over the Chairmanship of the District, on the retirement of William Scarborough in 1887. The number of regular missionaries remains at this date the same as in 1875 (*see* p. 159) ; the staff has been strengthened by the accession of several English lay-helpers (*see* last page). The medical and educational work have undergone great development. Chü Shao-an is still the only Chinese Minister, but eight Chinese Catechists, or Evangelists, appear on the Stations. The three previous Circuits have become five ; the Church-membership has grown by nearly three-fold, standing at 372.

Ta-yeh, situated south-east of Wuchang in the middle of the Hupeh coal-field, and An-lu (or Ngan-lu), a Prefectural city on the River Han far to the north-west, became during the 'nineties the centres of important Circuits ; each has at the present date its medical missionary. Sui-chow, which first appears in the dignity of a Circuit town in 1901, was an offshoot from the Tei-an Circuit ; it marks the furthest extent of the Mission northwards. The Han-chuan Circuit, between An-lu and Hanyang, was an outgrowth from the latter Circuit. About ten years later the Ch'ung-yang Circuit, in the extreme south of Hupeh, was started through the enterprise of William H. Watson, bringing the mission to the border of the Hunan Province. The Wuchang District has thus been developed, by steady and regular extension, to its present proportions, covering a pear-shaped area 500 miles in length and 120 miles wide at its southern base, with the Triple City for its centre. In conjunction with the L.M.S. and other Missions, the Methodist Church has spread the net of God's kingdom over the province of Hupeh. Our Mission has access to more than half of its population of 35 millions.

In 1899, terminating the third period of twelve years from the birth of the Mission, the Church-membership of the Wuchang

District was counted at 1906, in seven Circuits (*comp.* p. 161). The English missionary staff has been nearly doubled since 1887; there are two Chinese Ministers for one, and a regiment of native preachers and teachers. The Lay Mission continues its assistance. Beside the great extension of medical work, there has been added to the philanthropies of the Mission (through David Hill's munificence) the Industrial Blind School at Hankow. The closing decades of the nineteenth century are well designated "the period of progress" for the Gospel in China (*comp.* p. 154 at bottom).

On April 18th, 1896, after thirty-two years of apostolic labour, David Hill passed to his rest. If Josiah Cox was the designer and founder, David Hill was the chief builder of the Church in the Wuchang District. His stamp marks every part of the construction. He came of the finest Methodist strain, and breathed the purest spirit of his Church. Large-hearted and broad-minded, and possessed of rare tact and temper, without losing his English qualities he grew into a wonderful sympathy with the people of his adoption. He conformed to native dress and manners without affectation, and bore himself as a Chinese gentleman among the Chinese. His countenance shone with the beauty of holiness; to look upon him was to understand the Apostle's words concerning Christ's redeemed, "whom He justified them He also glorified." David Hill reduced his personal needs to a minimum, and expended systematically and carefully his private fortune in the service of Christ. Without austerity or harshness toward others, he set an example of selfless devotion, which powerfully affected both his fellow-workers and the Chinese onlookers. David Hill of China ranks with Francis Asbury of America, and John Hunt of Fiji, as a missionary saint. His election to the Chair of the Shanghai Conference of 1890 indicated the reverence in which he was universally held. His memory "smells sweet and blossoms from the dust;" it will bear fruit for generations to come in the Christianity of Mid-China.

On the last day of 1899 broke out the Boxer Riots, which brought a crisis upon Chinese Christianity comparable to the persecutions suffered by the Early Church under the Roman Empire. The tragic story must not be related here. Happily for our people, the Viceroys of the Yangtse Valley at that time were exceptionally strong men and exerted themselves, at much personal risk, to prevent massacre. The beneficent lives of Christ's servants for a generation past in these regions had softened the old animosity and won friends for them in many quarters. The European staff were called in from outlying

Stations; their women and children were sent down to Shanghai. But while more than two hundred missionary victims fell throughout the Empire, and wholesale martyrdoms of Chinese Christians took place, the storm passed over without loss of life to the Methodist Mission-staff; and our native people escaped the worst calamities.

This crucial " proof of affliction " demonstrated the genuineness of Chinese Christianity and the deep roots which the Church of God had struck in this new soil. Never in any age or land were more cruel sufferings endured for the name of the Lord Jesus; never were stronger testimonies given to the power of His grace than came from the lips of tortured and dying confessors in many parts of China at this time.

Once more " the blood of the martyrs " proved " the seed of the Church." Since the Boxer Persecution, Christianity has advanced with swift speed. In the twelve years closing with 1911 the Wuchang District reached a Church-membership of 1,575; this figure, together with the membership of the seven Circuits of the Hunan District (*see* the following paragraphs) which were its offspring, makes a total exceeding 2,000 and more than doubling the record of 1899. There are twenty-seven European missionaries, and two Chinese Ministers counted with them.

A second Women's Hospital (in addition to the Jubilee Hospital of Hankow; *see* p. 160) has been set up in Wuchang; this building will ever be associated with the name of Margaret Bennett, its first doctor in charge, who, with the aid of her family, had chiefly supplied the means for its erection, and who was smitten down five months after its opening, which took place in July, 1903. The medical work of the Wuchang District sustained its heaviest loss by the death of Sydney Hodge, called home to God in 1907 after twenty years of most manful and effective service—a worthy " companion " to David Hill "in the kingdom and patience of Jesus." Dr. Hodge's colleague and successor, Richard T. Booth, a bright and gifted son of Irish Methodism, death has just snatched from us (June, 1912) in his prime.

To the philanthropic agencies of the Mission has been added the " Destitute Boys' Home " established by Joseph Kimber Hill (nephew of David Hill) at Suichow; and provision has been made for the future Chinese Ministry by the starting of a Theological and Training Institute attached to the Wuchang High School. William Arthur Cornaby—our ablest Chinese scholar and writer—was lent in the year 1904 to the service of the " Christian Literature Society for China." While the spoken dialects vary along

the South-East coast of China, the one written literary language (the Wenli) reaches its millions of readers; and in this time of national awakening the Shanghai Christian press, adapting itself with skill to Chinese needs and tastes, has been doing a mighty work for the kingdom of God.

Hunan

South of Hupeh, stretching between it and Kwangtung, lies Hunan. This Province is the quintessence of China; for long it had been the focus of anti-foreign agitation. Its notables had vowed that Christianity should never cross its boundaries; from Hunan proceeded the agitation, disturbing the whole Yangtse valley, through which William Argent lost his life (*see* p. 160). A "Literature Society" was formed in Hunan, under Mandarin patronage, which flooded the country with blasphemous and obscene anti-Christian publications; the walls of Wuchang were placarded with horrible cartoons; popular songs were put in circulation, the burden of which was: "Drive out the devil-religion; cut the foreigner into a thousand pieces!" The crimes resulting from this propaganda compelled the Chinese Government to stop the atrocious campaign of defamation.

From the beginning Hunan had been in the thoughts and prayers of the Hupeh missionaries—Josiah Cox himself had made an excursion into the Province; moreover, the Churches of Hupeh contained several Hunan men, who were concerned for their fellow-provincials. The outrages of 1891 turned Christian eyes intently upon Hunan; a Christian revenge must be taken for Argent's murder.

The initiative came from a couple of native village Christians in the Circuit of Tei-an, named Chang Yi-chih and Li Kiang-ti. The latter, a recent convert, had a dream in which he heard the Saviour bidding him go to witness for the truth in Hunan. The missionary, warily, sent young Li to consult Mr. Chang, the Leader of a neighbouring Society, who judged the dream to be of God. As it happened, Chang had business connexions with Hunan; he had himself been impelled to preach Christ there, and now volunteered to accompany the dreamer on his dangerous errand. So the two travellers set out, in April, 1893—our first apostles to Hunan. They journeyed far into the Province, and found the country open and friendly beyond expectation. On their return to Hankow, the good tidings was forwarded to other Churches. Meetings were held up and down the District on the subject, and the people showed themselves eager for advance.

Two subsequent and equally encouraging visits were made by Chang.

Other Christian invaders now entered the long-barred region, and the old malignant opposition was aroused, delaying the next step in the campaign. Meanwhile, to the delight of their English pastors, a little Missionary Society was formed by the Hupeh Methodists and a fund collected—small in actual amount, but large in proportion to the means of the givers—to promote the evangelization of Hunan.

Trouble at home put a stop to Chang's travels. It was time for the missionaries themselves to enter the field. Already, in 1894, Ernest C. Cooper, working in South Hupeh, had crossed the Hunan border unhindered; further exploration was in view, when the war with Japan (1894–5) was followed by a recrudescence of anti-foreign feeling that compelled delay; and David Hill's death at this juncture (1896) disconcerted Wuchang plans. It was not till after the occupation, in 1898–99, of Ch'ung-yang and Tung-cheung (p. 161) near the Hunan border of Hupeh, furnishing a base for sustained advance, that "the Hunan Mission" was constituted under the superintendency of William H. Watson, an experienced pioneer. Meanwhile the China Inland Mission, and the L.M.S. guided by Dr. Griffith John, had gone forward, the Methodists for the time standing aside.

Instructed by the Wuchang Synod of 1900, the three missionaries North, Warren, and Watson, together traversed a large part of the Province with a view to definite occupation. Though they had exciting experiences, the travellers found in many places the people tolerant of foreigners and the magistrates not unfriendly. The influences at work in Hupeh were at last breaking down the defiant Hunan prejudice; while the recent victory of Japan had convinced the more intelligent Chinese that their country too must go to school with the Westerners.

Hardly, however, had the three spies returned, convinced that the time was come for evangelizing Hunan, when the Boxer troubles broke out and the door they had found open was violently closed. In a few weeks chapels and mission-houses throughout Hunan were in flames; the missionaries were fugitives, and their converts overwhelmed with persecution. "The work of God that seemed so prosperous in this Province, was blasted as with the breath of fire." Yet this calamity was as brief as it was terrible; the Boxer movement collapsed; the anti-foreign rage of Hunan had spent itself, as in a final paroxysm. In the summer of 1901 George Gilbert Warren, revisiting the Province, found the

country peaceable, the friends made on former journeys ready to welcome him, and even Chang-sha, the capital city, open to the Gospel.

Ernest C. Cooper and Lo Yu-shan were therefore appointed by the following Synod to Chang-sha. Arriving early in 1902, they secured suitable premises with no great difficulty—other missions had already entered the city. Enquirers thronged to their meetings; and though threatening incidents occurred, there were many signs of an awakened spirit in the people; the Hunanese could be as good friends as they had been good haters. The best helper of the missionaries at this time was Huang Chih-yuan, a Methodist colporteur working between Chang-sha and the Hupeh border. Within the next two or three years the Mission gained a footing in Ping-kiang, Liu-yang, and Yi-yang—positions on the route from Wuchang to Chang-sha; their occupation linked up the mission in the latter city with those of South Hupeh.

In 1903–4 the march southwards was resumed; missions were planted in Pao-Ching, Yung-chow-fu, and Ch'en-chow, mainly through the enterprise of Ernest Cooper, who made adventurous journeys on the waterways above Chang-sha, finally bringing Hunan work into touch with that of the Provinces of Kwangsi (*see* p. 156) and Kwangtung (*comp.* p. 155). The Missionary Committee realised the importance of the occupation of Hunan, and sent reinforcements to the Wuchang staff, which enabled it to set free pioneer workers for the new province.

The Hunan Mission, if long delayed, spread far more quickly than those of older date. The way of the Lord had been prepared amongst the people by a marvellous train of events; China was shaking off the lethargy of ages. The new advance had behind it the momentum of forty years' work in Hupeh, which furnished trained agents, English and Native, ready to enter the open door.

In 1907 the Hunan District was separated from Wuchang, with the energetic Gilbert Warren for its Chairman. According to the latest returns (of 1912), it reports 7 Circuits, and is served by 13 English Missionaries and one Chinese Minister, with a further complement of lay-workers (men and women). The Church-membership of the District exceeds 500, having attained in ten years a growth which it cost the Wuchang District nearly thirty years to realise. A High School has been opened at Chang-sha, with a Theological Department more recently commenced; and there is a hospital at Yung-chow, under the direction of Dr. George and Mrs. Hadden. The Chang-sha Riots of 1910 caused but a brief interruption to the work of the District. Nothing could

afford a brighter augury for the future of Christianity in China than the free course of the Gospel in this Province, formerly the hotbed of hostility to Europe and to Christ.

The great persecution of 1900, and the desperate but defeated attempt then made to stamp out Christianity, have been followed by a sweeping reaction throughout China. The subsequent national renunciation of opium has revealed a force of conscience and of will in the Chinese character worthy of the deepest respect. The political revolution now in progress, which has turned the oldest of the world's monarchies into the youngest of its republics, has been accomplished so far with a peacefulness and moderation truly astonishing. Christian teaching and example have been powerful factors in this result. The acceptance by the Republic of the Christian Era for its calendar is immensely significant. From this date China must needs count all things new!

CHAPTER XIII

Women's Work for Missions

Methodist women overseas, as at home, have had an ample share in the sacrifices and labours of the Church. They have been prompters and participators in almost every missionary advance. From the days when Barbara Heck "under God brought into existence American and Canadian Methodism," and Mary Black by her pastoral care of the little flock in Nova Scotia freed her husband for his long itinerations (*see* pp. 40, 41), down to this Centenary year, the wives and daughters of missionaries, and the women converts of their training, have rendered unpaid and unstinted service to the cause of Christ in foreign lands. They bore the brunt of persecution through the bitter years of West Indian slavery; their light shone in brave beneficence from Christian homes set up amongst ferocious Maoris, cannibal Fijians, and capricious Kafirs. Suffering has been alleviated, ignorance enlightened, homes sweetened and purified, and the kingdom of God brought into the innermost domains of life by the tender ministry of women whose heart the Lord had touched, and who made the work of husbands, fathers, or brothers their own.

The Methodist women of England, in the early years of Missions, felt their missionary responsibility. Leaving public advocacy to the other sex, they took upon themselves "the drudgery of charity"; they furnished a host of collectors, who supported their house-to-house appeals with the personal argument and

explanation which commend the missionary cause where platform speeches cannot reach.

Mrs. Hoole, wife of Dr. Hoole of the Mission House (*see* p. 30), made warm friends of her husband's missionary guests; she corresponded with them when they went abroad. Learning their needs, she cast about for ways of assistance, until without settled design this lady had woven a web of communication which linked the wants of almost every foreign station of the Society to supplies drawn from the various quarters of the Home Church. A busy housewife and mother, she found time nevertheless to write letters of cheer and counsel to missionary wives in lonely or perilous surroundings, and she became, in effect, the Women's Secretary of the Society. Mrs. Hoole started also the "Juvenile Offering," our first missionary magazine for children, and was its editor for twenty years.

During the weary half-century of "breaking ground" in the East (*see* Chapter IX.), the necessity for specialised women's work forced itself on the missionary mind. In Ceylon and India the women are commonly inaccessible to the preaching or healing ministry of men. Education, where welcomed for the boys, was repulsed for the girls: "Milk is good," the Hindu father would say when his daughters were invited to learn reading, "but milk given to snakes becomes poison!" When here and there a missionary's wife gathered a handful of girls together, and won her way into their homes, the full misery of a family system based on child-marriage disclosed itself. The foul superstitions, the sickening fears, the cramped faculties, the needless, unpitied sufferings of Indian womanhood—all this welded into an iron system by the fierce conservatism with which the grandmothers stamped the traditional customs upon their juniors—appealed poignantly to those admitted to the secrets of the prison-house, who realised what Christ had done for their womankind. Indian society, moreover, is so knit together that nothing effectual could be done to save the men, unless the new light reached their sisters too. Missionaries' wives, pre-occupied by family claims and too often disabled through ill-health, could do but little by themselves in this indispensable task. Women-helpers must be found who should be free to pour their whole love and strength into the work of emancipation.

So early as 1839, the "Ladies' Society for Promoting Female Education in China and the East"* appointed a lady "to assist

* An undenominational Society, formed in 1837, and dissolved in 1890. The greater part of its work was taken over by the C.M.S.

Mr. Percival (*see* p. 117) in his extensive plans of female education," formed at Jaffna. From that time repeated references appear in the Missionary Report to Girls' Schools established by missionaries' wives. In 1842 Mrs. Batchelor (*see* p. 123) opened a school at Negapatam (India), where she got together sixty-eight pupils, including twenty-four caste-girls, half of the latter being boarders! A similar movement was begun by Mrs. Roberts (*see* p. 124) of Madras; when her husband died in 1849, this devoted woman continued her work and gathered under her motherly care destitute orphans, many of whom grew up to be intelligent and faithful servants of the Mission. Mrs. Roberts' Orphan Institute became in course of time the Madras Wesleyan Girls' High School The Mysore District followed the example of Madras, and in 1860 reported 500 school-girls under instruction; Mrs Pinkney, who had assisted Mrs. Batchelor, was the chief agent in this success. In 1853 Mrs. Walton (*see* p. 114) began a school at Trincomali (Ceylon), the opening of which her husband regarded as "by far the most important step taken in connexion with the Mission for many years;" Gogerly (*see* p. 114) testifies that "we find the work [of the Mission] flourishes in proportion as it is accompanied with female influence."

In 1858 Mrs. Batchelor wrote to Miss Farmer*, daughter of the Missionary Treasurer, suggesting the formation of a Ladies' Committee to select and send out to the mission-field competent women-teachers. This letter bore fruit in the summoning of a ladies' meeting at the Mission House, in December of that year. Secretaries Hoole and Arthur expounded the subject and sketched a plan of action, then left the ladies to their own business. It was decided to form a "Ladies' Committee for Ameliorating the Condition of Women in Heathen Countries."† Mrs. Hoole and Miss Farmer were appointed respectively the Foreign and Home Correspondents of the Committee; afterwards Mrs. Farmer became Treasurer. The Committee undertook correspondence with missionaries' wives and others engaged in school-work on the field, and the selection, training, and support of volunteers. The groups of women-helpers already existing up and down the country were invited to associate themselves with the central board, and the Mission House issued a circular, addressed to every Circuit, explaining the project and urging co-operation.

* Author of *Tonga and the Friendly Islands.*

† This title was changed in 1874 to "The Ladies' Auxiliary for Female Education," and again in 1884 to its present form, "The Women's Auxiliary of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society."

An " Occasional Paper," with news from the field, was started in May, 1859 : subsequently this became a quarterly magazine, now known as *Women's Work*.

The earliest missionary sent out by the Ladies' Committee, Susannah Gooding Beal, sailed in 1859, for Belize in Honduras. She was the first also to receive her crown, dying of yellow fever after a few months of hopeful mission service. Since 1868 no further appointment has been made to America or the West Indies*. The Women's Auxiliary has, however, touched at one point or other all our great mission-fields. Help was given for some years in the shape of warm clothing to the missions in the Hudson Bay Territory, where the Indian women suffer pitifully from the Arctic climate. In the opposite direction, a worker was sent to Fiji in 1860. During the 'sixties South Africa received much attention : in most instances the terms of service there were short ; Charlotte E. Beauchamp, however, worked among the Pondos for twenty-seven years (1869–96). The lack of organized women's work in the Transvaal and Rhodesian Missions is proving at the present time a most serious drawback ; want of funds alone prevents the W.A. from meeting this importunate call. In West Africa the W.A. has been represented by three workers (*comp.* p. 178 below)—two remaining in the country but a few months ; the third, Lydia Ellenberger, laboured most usefully at Aburi on the Gold Coast for eleven years (1894–1905). From 1863–72 a W.A. teacher was stationed at Milan in Italy ; the Society still makes an annual grant to orphanage-work in that country. In 1904 Katherine Wykes began the quiet, faithful service at Barcelona which has brought the living Christ into many a Spanish home.

The earliest agents of the Auxiliary were appointed solely as teachers, most of these being trained Westminster students. Their outlook in India for many years was discouraging enough. Little visible fruit could be reaped : parents were slow to send their girls to school and removed them, often to distant homes, while at quite a tender age. It was impossible to train native teachers under such conditions. Small schools had to be multiplied, since the young children could not travel far ; to provide a satisfactory staff was out of the question—Christian native assistants were still to seek. The teaching of the school seemed like writing on water. In some cases the children could be followed up in their homes ; but zenana-bred apathy, and the

* The Wesley Deaconess Order has recently supplied a principal to the Bird College at Port-au-Prince, Haiti.

distraction of the white woman's dress and manners, made it difficult to produce more than a vague impression of the visitor's kindly interest in the family. The day-school thus proved a defective instrument, and the children of caste parents might not become boarders—Mrs. Batchelor's success in gaining them (p.169) was short-lived. In 1879, however, the Society reported two girls' boarding-schools in India, with pupils coming from Christian homes. The experiment proved the extreme value of this kind of education. Girls of Christian parentage, touched by the Gospel from infancy and remaining under instruction till their more receptive years, have provided teachers, school-matrons, Biblewomen, wives for catechists and native ministers—the body of Christianly-bred women on whom the existence of a Christian society depends. The first step in the uplifting of Indian womanhood had been taken.

The dawn of a better day approached, through lurid clouds. The years 1876–79 have a black record in South India. Famine scourged the land. Grain was imported, but lay rotting on the beach for want of transport : the oxen perished ; railways were wanting where need was sorest. Children by hundreds were left orphan in the depopulated hamlets. Aided by Government, the missionaries gathered these, wherever they could, into hastily constructed orphanages : the Industrial Schools of Hassan and Tumkur in the Mysore Province, and of Karur on the Kāveri, were thus commenced. Here were a multitude of children, thrown upon the care of the missionaries, to whom they could give " the nurture of the Lord." Many of these foundlings suffered in body or mind irreparably ; many slipped away through the gates of death ; but a goodly number survived, to be the reward of the love and patience spent upon their rearing. Capable Christians grew out of these nurseries in later years, inspired by gratitude and well fitted to assist their saviours.

Ceylon presented a different problem. Caste is confined to the Tamil population ; even amongst orthodox Hindus it is less rigidly maintained than in India. Non-Christian girls can be brought into the boarding-schools. The embarrassments of the Women's Auxiliary in this field soon became those of success. The cumulative value of long-established schools, for both sexes, is seen at Jaffna, where a strong and intelligent native Christian community has been fostered by this means. As elementary teaching for girls became appreciated, Buddhist and Hindu schools have been started in rivalry, both on the island and the mainland. The competition is an incentive to improved efficiency.

The work of the Bible-woman is a product of the school. Sunjivi of the Mysore—a pupil of the mission-school and the wife of a Christian man—was the first Methodist woman to bear this title in India, receiving her appointment in 1868. Our Indian Bible-women go into the villages, as the evening darkens and the labourers return from the fields, and talk of Jesus to the groups that gather round them ; they penetrate to the women's quarters of caste-houses, where they read from Scripture and re-tell its stories, preaching in the language of the heart. Such speakers reproduce the Oriental setting and home-scenery of the Bible as no Westerner can do. The plain, careworn face of the narrator kindles as she speaks : her simple gestures dramatize each point while she pictures the lowly birth, the beneficent life, the cruel death of the Saviour. Comment is scarcely needed ; all might have happened yesterday !

In China Mrs. Piercy of Canton, herself a trained teacher, made girls' education from the beginning part of the business of the Mission. From 1862–78 she had the assistance of workers supplied by the Women's Auxiliary ; Jane Radcliffe (1866–78) devoted herself to the raising up of native teachers. This is becoming the chief task of the English school-mistress on the mission-field ; here lies our hope for the wide diffusion of Christian knowledge and habits.

Relieved of school-work, Mrs. Piercy set on foot cottage-meetings for Chinese women. While in India socialities of this nature are possible only in the few places where advanced ideas prevail, " in China women naturally cluster together," says one who knows them well ; " custom gathers audiences in corners apart from men." To such groups, sitting at their ease " on a flat roof in the cool of the evening, crossing the ferry, or travelling by steamer or train," the Chinese Bible-woman gives her message : " her tongue becomes the pen of a ready writer, and zeal covers her as with a cloak ! " The first of this sacred sisterhood was a Christian widow, who came to Mr. Piercy in her sorrow. " You must go out and preach ! " said he, disregarding her plea that she could not read. Finding the missionary inexorable, the woman went in tears to her Chinese pastor, who echoed Mr. Piercy's advice and told her to take her Bible and invite the aid of any reader in the company she might address. This the simple-hearted woman did ; where she found a circle of listeners, she " first read to them out of her own heart, and then they read to her from the Book of Life. Deep answered unto deep ; and many were converted under this uncultured ministry." The

Bible women of that early time, chosen in middle-age, joined the children at school and learned to spell out the Gospels in the Chinese characters. (Women's classes of this sort are still a feature of the Chinese school-system.) Thus equipped, they sallied forth in the name and power of the Lord Jesus, to visit haunts of filth and misery such as one dare not describe,—their neat aspect and joy-lit countenance a veritable " light shining in a squalid place ! "

In 1869 the Ladies' Committee received a letter from the Hankow Chinese Minister depicting the gross ignorance of the heathen women, and entreating them to send " some honourable person . . . bearing the true light, to enlighten these girls." The Minister's wife had been educated at Shanghai, and was eager to co-operate with a European worker. Straitened resources delayed the granting of this petition until 1885, when Gertrude T. Williams (Mrs. Bridie) was appointed to school-work, and Louisa Grace Sugden (Mrs. Owen) to medical work in this Mission (*see* p. 160). At the same date the Canton post, unfilled for six years through local difficulties, was re-occupied by Annie M. Wood, who laboured here with devotion for nearly twenty years, and acquired an exceptional knowledge of Chinese language and life.

Prior to the year 1885, women's missionary gifts had been applied almost wholly to education or direct evangelism. One English mistress superintended a number of day-schools in different places and supervised their native staff, while another would have charge of a band of Bible-women, acting as their instructor and accompanying them in turn upon their rounds of visitation. In course of time Hindu wives, who had been mission-scholars in childhood, began to request instruction at home. " Zenana-teachers " thus came to be employed, who added secular training to their Bible-lessons. These continuation-classes greatly extend the influence of the school; but they require very careful oversight. Fees defraying the cost are ordinarily paid for such visits.

The Women's Auxiliary counted in 1885, beside the three ladies just despatched to China and Miss Beauchamp of the Pondoland Mission (*see* p. 170), seven agents in Ceylon and seven in India. Anna Maria Beauchamp even surpassed her sister Charlotte in length of service ; with brief intervals, her work in Ceylon and India covered nearly forty years (1869–1905).

Out of the Indian group of 1885 two are still at work in the Mysore District, rich in the skill reaped from experience,—viz.,

Constance E. Parsons and Rose White (from Tasmania). In Haidarabad City and in Faizabad (Lucknow) our workers have found access, at no little personal risk, to the Muhammadan women, bringing them comfort and light. No part of the Society's work demands greater nerve and discretion than the invasion of the harem.

About the same time, women-helpers made the earliest attempts on the part of our Mission at systematic medical relief on the Indian field. The first appeal for such workers, addressed to the Auxiliary at home, came from the Chairman of the newly-formed Haidarabad District (*see* p. 185), in 1880. In many respects Haidarabad was a century behind the Presidencies. Visiting and school-work were more difficult among the Hindus of this State than in most other parts of India, while the Muhammadan capital was resolutely barred against Christ. The Saviour's love must here be displayed by deeds rather than words. There was no appetite for knowledge—ignorance in women was deemed the law of nature; but the assuagement of anguish and disease softens every heart. At that point of assault the double fortress of Hinduism and Islam might be stormed. The sum of unrelieved yet medicable suffering in this backward country was appalling. Even to-day, in the Presidency towns where Government physicians and sanitary oversight are found, it is reckoned that not half the children born survive infancy, and not half the sick and dying receive intelligent treatment. But in regions untouched by Western science and hygiene, where Eastern custom has full play, every cause that makes for lowered vitality and disease is rife; pain and death run riot. Women-doctors and nurses are required in the East, not only to translate the love of God into experience by the repulse of death and relief of misery, but to give the people new conceptions of a wholesome life. While the belief obtains that all suffering is the infliction of a vindictive god, sanitary precautions appear profane; garments reeking with cholera-poison will still be washed at the village-well, the washers going from their task to offer propitiatory sacrifice to the goddess of the plague!

Josiah Cox of Hankow (*see* p. 158) was in England when the appeal from Haidarabad for a lady doctor was made. He pleaded for compliance, and begged like aid for China. Some monstrous physical evils, such as the religious custom of premature marriage, are peculiar to India; but in Chinese homes the rules of health are equally unknown; foot-binding is only the most conspicuous of the forms of cruelty affecting Chinese women. The native

medicine and surgery are largely compounded of superstitious absurdity and ingenious torture. The entreaty made by these miseries was slow to take effect. Imagination, rather than heart, was lacking in the case. The conditions of Eastern society are far remote from those familiar to English ladies; they bear on the life of women in ways too shameful to be plainly told. It was needful for Mrs. Wiseman, while distressed by the task, to voice for years to the women of our Church the harrowing cry of their sisters in India and China, before the awful facts reached the conscience of those from whom salvation must come.

Not till 1884 was the first lady sent to this work; not till 1900 was a fully qualified medical woman forthcoming. Honour to the brave women who with inadequate training and make-shift appliances, compelled by desperate necessity, took in hand—often through God's blessing with marvellous success—operations that would have been formidable to an expert and well-equipped surgeon! Such responsibilities could not be endured for long, nor our workers permitted to run such hazards. The work of the W. A. had reached a stage at which it was bound to enlist trained professional skill, or retreat before the misery challenging its agents in Oriental lands. The West could not in conscience offer less than its best in relief to the agony of the East.

The story of the Gospel of healing in the Medak Mission (Haidarabad) is one of the romances of modern evangelism. Early in 1897 Sara A. Harris and Emilie Posnett joined Miss Posnett's brother, who was in charge of this station, and began their work as doctors. Famine was sweeping over the land, with cholera in its train. The people died in hundreds, many being hastily buried at the sides of empty tanks, where the hungry survivors scratched up grass and roots for a pitiful meal. One consolation came amid the overwhelming distress: impoverished parents, who witnessed the humanity of Christ's servants, were thankful to trust their children to the missionary's care. First the destitute boys were gathered into a school-home. After a while, by persistent effort, the missionary ladies succeeded in devising a similar refuge for the famine-girls. In the height of the distress came the cheering news, that the late Solomon Jevons of Birmingham, that generous friend of Medical Missions, was providing funds for a proper dispensary in lieu of "the little room off our bedroom," as the ladies wrote, which hitherto had served the purpose. In 1898 we read of church, schools, and dispensary being built together.

The Report of 1899 tells us that "in the touch of the lady

doctor magic lies. Throughout these Haidarabad villages, wherever she has passed, the evangelist finds open ears and open eyes and an open heart." The change in the popular attitude which followed the relief-campaign, was indicated by two successive petitions from the Muhammadan nobles to the Nizam (the ruling prince) concerning the Wesleyan Mission: in 1888 they desired him "to refuse the infidel dogs a foothold among the company of the faithful in Medak"; ten years later, the same men request him to "give freely to the Padri Sahib and his pious sisters all the land they ask!" In 1899 the chief Moulvi invited the missionaries, and their out-caste flock, to a sumptuous feast, at which he waited in person on his unaccustomed guests. Medical ministry brought about this revolution.

Since 1904, a fully qualified medical woman has been stationed at Medak, with three trained European assistants; the agencies of the hospital cover a wide surrounding area. Medical touring is now possible, extending the influence of the Mission in all directions. Where the doctor has turned the key, the evangelist and teacher step in; each case of healing, as in the ministry of Jesus and the Apostles, supplies another Gospel-text.

Medak furnishes a sample of the work which our women-healers are doing in twenty different centres. Where results are less signal, it is because the work of the medical pioneer has been ill-followed up. If preachers and catechists are lacking, the soil is in vain prepared for the seed of the kingdom, and grows sterile again. Medical work fulfils its purpose when it is supported by the complementary Christian agencies, and the breadth and weight of the wedge follow its "thin end"; it is an auxiliary to the spiritual Gospel, not a substitute for it. The native Christian nurses and Bible-women do much to supply this necessity. Such assistants could not have been found in former years; now they are busy in every Mission-hospital and dispensary. The Chinese women particularly excel in nursing; the Hankow Hospital draws a revenue from the earnings of its trained girls employed as private nurses, who carry Christ with them to many a house where He was not known.

Industrial Missions are concerned chiefly with the training of boys. But on the women's side also, needle-work and lace-work provide a means of missionary training, particularly in India and Ceylon; and boarding-schools supply instruction in household arts. Where individual converts are baptized, they are often turned adrift by their families, and must be put in the way of winning a livelihood. Orphan children must be trained to

usefulness. The poor in their homes may be inspired with ideas of cleanliness and order, and taught the right care of children.

Amongst the pariah women of Ikkadu, in the Madras District, industrial teaching has become an important arm of the Mission. Unkempt, filthy in habits and speech, accustomed to no control save that of fear, with hands stiffened by field-labour, these outcaste creatures presented a problem seemingly as morally hopeless as it was repulsive. Their homes were visited; their sick were tended; they were drawn to the Lace-hall, where their clumsy hands took a new ply. Gradually love and patience, and the sight of decency and the sound of gentle voices, tell upon them; the trampled and buried womanliness slowly reappears. Temper and tongue are checked; hair and face and clothes by degrees assume a human aspect; the contrast between the last newcomer, crouching in animal fear by the door, and the long-established worker is marvellous indeed. While fingers are busy, the Bible-woman reads aloud, or there is a pause for singing; each pupil learns at her work some Scripture-story or simple Christian lyric, which she carries home to repeat to her family and neighbours. The babies come with their mothers; and hints and lessons on their management slip in, along with the rest. It is a painful, tedious task for the instructor; mistakes and disappointments are inevitable. Not in a day, nor in a generation, are coarse pariah women made into gentle, intelligent Christians. But from the children and children's children of such as these God is "raising up sons" and daughters "unto Abraham."

Other remedial agencies, in which the hands of women play the chief part, are operating on the Mission-fields; they must be vastly multiplied, if we are to provide the manifold channels demanded by our Lord's compassion. Leper-asylums, rescue-homes for the fallen, refuges for widows and for excommunicated converts, are necessary adjuncts to our work, in this place or in that. Orphanages for destitute children are needed in the East, even more than at home. Neither Hinduism nor Buddhism makes provision for the waifs and strays of society. Well-disposed Brahman gentlemen will themselves direct forlorn children whom they encounter, to the Christian missionary for shelter. Amongst our most valued Orphanage-mothers is Fannie Cooke, of the Uva Mission in the hill-country of south-east Ceylon, who, for nearly twenty-five years has laboured with quiet persistence and wisdom of heart, honoured by Sinhalese and English alike. Scores of well-trained ayahs, teachers, godly wives and mothers, owe their very selves to the salvation she has ministered.

Some of the W.A. workers are drawn from the Order of the Wesley Deaconesses. Other Deaconesses, serving as teachers and school-matrons in West Africa (*comp.* p. 197), have been enlisted by the W.M.M.S. directly. The health-record of the West African Deaconesses deserves attention. Since the first of these ladies was sent out in 1904, they have suffered no loss by death or by permanent incapacitation. Three workers are attached to each boarding-school, two being on duty together, and the third on furlough. One Sister superintends the teaching of the girls; her companion is in domestic charge, and trains the girls in housewifery and matters of health. The advantages of this system are demonstrated by experience. The Deaconess Order, with its large constituency and excellent training, should prove a valuable ally to the Women's Auxiliary; Foreign Missions provide a boundless field for its activities.

The home-organization of the Women's Auxiliary has received a great development since the days of its beginning (*see* pp. 168–170). As Mrs. Hoole's strength declined, the administration devolved chiefly upon Mrs. and the Misses Farmer. Many names are fragrant amongst these of the home-helpers, for the loving and faithful labour they have given to the Committee's work in its several departments. Mrs. Ligdett and Mrs. Everett Green are remembered with especial gratitude on this account. The former was through many years a trusted counsellor in everything that touched the Auxiliary's work; the latter, through her social and literary gifts and the wide range of her friendships, made the Auxiliary known throughout Methodism, and furnished a link between it and other Missionary Societies.

But, for the workers on the field, the personality of Mrs. (Caroline Meta) Wiseman, during the last thirty years, has dominated every other. On the death of her husband in 1874 (*see* p. 31), taken from her after nine months of happy union, instead of returning to her beloved home-mission work at Bath, Mrs. Wiseman, in accordance with what she believed to be his wish, remained in London to serve the Ladies' Missionary Committee. Three years later she became its Foreign Secretary, and so remained till within six weeks of her death, which befell in July, 1912. Mrs. Wiseman was eminently endowed with the gifts required for this calling—a sympathetic nature and quick imagination, a strong, well-balanced mind, a firm will and a kindly but unmistakable authority, vigorous health and physical endurance, and a winning presence and address. Above all, she had a child-like faith in God, and a burning zeal for the world's salvation. She

represented the best womanhood of Methodism. Under her leadership the Ladies' Committee became a broader and more effective instrument; it widened out into the "Women's Auxiliary." Mrs. Wiseman's knowledge of the mission-field, and of the personnel of the Society, made her intercourse with the workers, in most cases, intimate and confiding. She possessed in rare measure the art of inspiring trust and affection. Twice she visited the Eastern fields—in 1888 and 1902—showing herself an indefatigable traveller, even in age and impaired health. She had visited each Mission in imagination a hundred times, and came prepared to appreciate and interpret all she saw. And she brought the glow of her own courage and faith to warm the hearts of lonely or despondent toilers.

During recent years Mrs. Wiseman's increasing work was done—in Committee, at the desk, on the platform—with lessening strength; again and again the excess of toil, from which she could not desist, brought her nigh to death. To the end she was granted her heart's desire—"to work and speak and think" for Christ. When the final summons came, it found her still occupied with the *one thing* that had been the burden and joy of her life. Mrs. Wiseman's name holds a foremost place in the history of Methodist Foreign Missions. Her memory supplies a great example of the use that God may make, in these modern times, of the influence and powers of a Christian woman.

NOTE.—The income of the W.A. has increased in the fifty-two years of its existence from less than £500 to more than £20,000. It has now (1912) ninety-four English workers sent out to the field, and twelve others locally enlisted; also 303 native Bible-women and Zenana-workers, in its employ. It supports a large number of schools and other institutions. The W.M.M.S. supplies the plant for its work, and provides outfit and passage-money for the English workers. The management of the W.A. at home is independent of the Parent Society; but abroad each agent is under the direction of the Superintendent of the Station at which she labours.

CHAPTER XIV

ADVANCE IN THE INDIAN EMPIRE

INDIA

FOR forty years Methodism was at school in India (*see* Chapter IX.). The first generation of the missionaries were cheered by individual conversions and unmistakable impressions made on

groups of the population here and there; Hinduism as a whole, and the non-Christian masses, were but faintly touched by their efforts. The result of these painful disciplinary labours—spent in mastering the situation, in learning the approaches to the Hindu mind and acclimatising Western thought to an Eastern atmosphere—is manifest in the very different aspect and character which our work on this great field has subsequently assumed.

Since the date of the Indian Mutiny (with which Chapter IX. closed), the number of Districts within the Empire in which the W.M.M.S. is working, has grown from two to seven; its English missionaries have been multiplied seven and a half times, and its local (Native and East Indian) ministry eleven times; our elementary day-schools are fourteen times their former number, and our Church-membership has increased thirty-fold. The Women's Auxiliary employs eighty skilled agents on Indian stations, where before there were none (*see* Chapter XIII); these are assisted by a host of Nurses, Biblewomen, and Zenana-teachers. Within the area formerly occupied by the Society (viz., Mysore, and the Tamil country between Madras and the Kāveri-basin) our English mission-staff has been quadrupled since 1857, the indigenous ministry multiplied by seven and a half, and the Church-membership by fourteen. Along with other Protestant Churches, Methodism has now thrust its roots into the soil; the Gospel of Christ is a recognised and evergrowing factor in the life of India.

In the occupation of the new Districts opened since 1857, Methodist soldiers pointed the way (*comp.* pp. 42, 78, 125). The events of the Mutiny called attention to the needs of the British Army in India; in the Stations for 1859, accordingly, we find Benjamin Broadley (from Ceylon) posted at Bombay* and Daniel Pearson at Calcutta, "to labour for the spiritual benefit of the Methodist soldiers." These appointments mark the first beginning of our present Missions in North India.

Bombay

Dr. Coke's party landed, after his death, at Bombay, and Mr. Harvard was detained there for six months (*see* p. 110). He gathered a small Society; and after some delay John Horner was sent to take his place, with a view to Hindu mission-work. He was a scholarly and able man, and learned the Marathi language. A second missionary was sent to Horner's aid; but

* Karachi, in the Province of Sind, was Mr. Broadley's actual station; it was afterwards taken over by the American Methodists.

the heavy cost and scanty fruit of six years' labour discouraged the Committee at home, and the Mission was abandoned.

Not till 1887 was Bombay re-occupied, by George William Clutterbuck. Three years earlier systematic preaching had been commenced by Methodist laymen in and near Bombay. Clutterbuck was a man of resolution and daring faith. He succeeded within a few years in building up a strong and self-supporting English Church in the city. From this centre our work amongst the military has been actively developed under the energetic leadership of Joseph H. Bateson, and the staff steadily increased, until at the present date Methodist Chaplains occupy effectively the cantonments of north-west India, from Belgaum to Peshawar and Quetta. This is not the place to enlarge upon the Army work of Methodism, though it is a service to the whole Empire, and reacts, directly or indirectly, upon all our missionary interests. In 1901 the Bombay and Punjab District came into existence, by separation from that of " Lucknow and Benares."

Out of the English work at Bombay a mission to the heathen inevitably grew. Behind the hired room in which George Clutterbuck first preached, a dispensary was opened for Marathi women. Soon a Marathi evangelist and schoolmaster was found, in Samuel Rahator, who was in 1899 admitted to the ministry, and labours to this day in his solitary Mission with staunch fidelity and growing influence. In the awful visitation of the plague at Bombay, Rahator rendered Christ-like service amongst the dying and panic-stricken ; and he rescued afterwards a troop of orphans, whom Anglo-Indian Methodists have helped him to rear. Rahator's Mission is making incursions into Hindu fastnesses where Christ was unknown. Our little Native Church in Bombay supplies the starting-point for an effective mission to the millions of Mahrattas, the most vigorous of Hindu peoples.

Calcutta

In Calcutta too the W.M.M.S., in earlier days, " began to build." Peter Percival and Thomas Hodson (*comp.* pp. 117, 123) laboured in this city from 1830–33. They had gathered a little English Society round them, had secured well-situated premises, had commenced Indian schools and acquired the Bengali vernacular, when the home authorities, impatient for " quick returns " and compelled to economize by the needs of other fields, called off the two missionaries, to their sore disappointment. Pearson's appointment in 1859 (*see* above) was made in response to repeated appeals, supported by subscriptions, for Methodist ministrations.

There were said to be 400 Wesleyan soldiers in the Presidency. The work began at the Cantonment of Barrackpur, 10 miles distant from the capital. In 1861 a couple of missionaries were planted in Calcutta itself; three years later Lucknow was also occupied, the American Methodists—earlier on the spot—leaving the English work to us and concentrating on their vernacular Mission. At each of these centres the English ministers soon sought out the natives, and the number of Mission-stations increased so rapidly that in 1879 the province came to be divided into the Calcutta and Lucknow (afterwards Lucknow-and-Benares) Districts.

Our Bengali Church has thriven better outside than within the capital—particularly at Raniganj (a colliery town, considerably north-west of Calcutta), and in Bankura (lying westward). The latter place is now the seat of a Methodist First-Grade College and an Industrial School, which serve the needs of the whole District; in both towns the Mission has set on foot Leper Asylums, due to the ardent philanthropy of F. W. Ambery Smith. Not far from Bankura, in the hilly region west of the Calcutta plain, are found the Santals, a tribe of non-Hindu aborigines of superior capability and receptiveness, amongst whom George William Olver (son of the Missionary Secretary of that name, and now Chairman of the District) was the first resident missionary; this work has been developed and consolidated by George E. Woodford.

Lucknow and Benares

Hindi and Hindustani* are the languages of the Lucknow District. Here Muhammadanism is more rife than in any other of our Indian fields; converts have been won from this faith, but not hitherto in great numbers. Faizabad, near Lucknow, was the chief scene of the wonderful career of "Padri Elliott" (Joseph Alexander Elliott: 1878–1905), an Indian-born Irishman, and perhaps the greatest vernacular preacher North India has yet produced.

At Benares, the Mecca of Hinduism, to which pilgrims stream from all parts of India, the caste-people are peculiarly difficult to win; and the more virile, combative temper of the North Indian makes his hostility to the foreign faith in various ways more pronounced than that of the southerner—on the other hand, his conversion, when it takes place, is apt to be more

* Throughout India Hindustani is the language spoken by Muhammadans; our missionary agents make use of it in this District, and among the ruling classes of Haidarabad (*see* p. 185).

Padri Elliott in his Municipal Pulpit at Faizabad.

decided. Here, as elsewhere throughout the East, systematic open-air preaching in the towns and villages is pursued as the every-day business of the Mission. This wayside sowing is especially important in a city of universal resort like Benares; by its means the Gospel reaches pilgrims from all parts of India, who are in search of salvation.* Of visible fruit little appears at the time. Hindu devotees are little disposed to receive the good news of salvation from sin, and of "life more abundant." Here and there amongst the listeners is a Muhammadan whose interest has been awakened in the Jesus of the Koran, or some earnest Hindu, whom his ablutions in the Ganges and the extortions of Brahman priests have left deeply disquieted. The impression made on such hearers by the street-preacher is deepened, it may be, by a chance word heard from a fellow-countryman or a chance book picked up in the railway station, and some distant missionary has the joy of reaping the fruit sprung from seed sown amongst the passing throngs of the Holy City.

The out-caste tribe of Doms in Benares is yielding good fruit to missionary toil; what is said of the Pariahs later (*see* p. 189), applies for the most part to the Doms and their like in North India.

The Lucknow High School for Boys, and the Faizabad Boarding School for Girls, are amongst the best of their kind.

Burma

Burma also is embraced in the "North India Provincial Synod" (*see* p. 187). Methodist occupation of Upper Burma followed close upon political annexation. In 1886 a Wesleyan Chaplain accompanied the British troops to Mandalay; in the following year Messrs. Winston (from Ceylon) and J. M. Brown (of Calcutta; afterwards Missionary Secretary) were sent to reconnoitre the new Province. The Deputation was welcomed by the American Baptists, who had long laboured here: "We wish hundreds of you were coming," they exclaimed.

On the report of the explorers, Mandalay, the capital of Upper Burma, was chosen as the headquarters of the Mission, and William Ripley Winston remained to commence the work. He was speedily joined by Arthur H. Bestall, who five months later opened the second station at Pakokku, 150 miles lower down the Irawaddy. The Mission has steadily been extended and

* To the earnest Hindu, it must be understood, "salvation" means deliverance from personal life—approach to the goal of absorption in the Deity.

strengthened; and this District now includes 8 Circuits, with 8 regular missionaries and 2 women-workers; its Church-membership numbers 508. Schools of different grades, both for boys and girls, are at work; a Home for Lepers is established at Mandalay. Good foundations have been laid for the future.

Though Burma is a part of "Further India" and is attached to Hindustan politically, it is as unlike India as a tropical Asiatic country can well be. The people are Mongolian, and resemble the Japanese both physically and temperamentally. Their religion, like that of the Sinhalese (*see* pp. 111, 112), is Buddhism, associated with primitive demon-worship and propitiatory sacrifice. Their women enjoy an un-oriental freedom; they engage actively in business and social festivities. Family purity and discipline are lacking. The appeal of Burma to the Christian missionary is less pitiful than that of other eastern lands; it is no less urgent. To this naturally intelligent but irresolute people Buddhism has been a soporific, blighting aspiration and industry. The Burmese race is threatened with extinction through sheer listlessness and frivolity. Much of the Burman slackness is due to the dominance of the Buddhist monastery, in which indolence has become a fine art. The indigenous education, confined to the boys, is in the hands of the monks; hence the want of fibre in Burmese manhood. The Gospel opens a new future to this gay and charming race. Bringing joy to the careworn and confidence to the timid, it disciplines the unstable and self-indulgent to strenuous endeavour.

The upland interior of Burma is peopled by rude tribes little affected by Buddhism. Their religion is a primitive animism, and their modes of life are those of a comparatively mild savagery. The Mission has lately approached these simple people, and has formed a Circuit in the southern Shan States, for which a missionary is now in requisition.

Haidarabad

From the south, a new Indian District has been opened to Methodism since 1857, in the State of Haidarabad. When the first Indian Conference of Protestant Evangelical Missions was held in 1858, amongst the areas marked out as unevangelized were north-western Mysore, and the Nizam's Dominion (of Haidarabad). The former of these regions was reached soon after this by the W.M.M.S., working from Bangalore; the latter country had long been in its thoughts. In 1832 a Methodist Society was reported amongst the military at Secunderabad,

including many Indians; an application was made for a resident missionary, backed by a subscription of £300. The Society had, however, too frequently scattered its slender forces in the endeavour to meet such appeals, and the matter was indefinitely postponed. Thirty years later Dr. Jenkins visited the country, and recommended occupation; but again delay arose. At length, in 1879, the advance was made, when William Burgess (now of Rome; *see* p. 130) was despatched from Madras and became the founder of the Haidarabad Mission. He was accompanied by a native helper, Benjamin P. Wesley, in character and labours not unworthy of his surname. They settled at Chadarghat, a suburb of Haidarabad City, no European being allowed to reside within the walls. Next year they were joined by Benjamin Pratt (subsequently Mr. Burgess's successor in Chairmanship), the stamp of whose heartiness and strong good-sense is on every part of the Mission. English work amongst the soldiers, and Tamil preaching to the immigrant coolies from the south, first occupied the (Tamil-speaking) missionaries; but before long a Telugu congregation was gathered at Chadarghat—Telugu (*see* p. 123) is the language of the (Hindu) bulk of the population.*

For four years the Mission was confined to its first location, —until it won the goodwill of the Nizam's Government, when the restriction was removed. Mr. Pratt then opened the first outstation, at Karim Nagar amongst the jungle-villages. Here the Mission struck, in the Malas, a stratum of Indian life uncommonly yielding to the Gospel. These are a race of out-caste soil-tillers, like the Pariahs further south (*see* below), though not so completely trodden down. Faster than they can be fed and folded, these lost sheep are flocking to the Good Shepherd. Quite recently, the Madigas of this region—out-castes of a lower grade than the Malas—have been moved by the same impulse. Medak, where Charles W. Posnett has laboured with splendid energy and resource for the last fifteen years, has become the centre of a work of redeeming love as moving in its pathos, and blessed in its results, as anything that Methodist annals relate (*comp.* p. 175). The Haidarabad missionaries have won the name of "the Pariah Padris," sharing their Master's reproach. This youngest of the Indian Districts is fast overtaking the rest in the number of its converts. The Haidarabad District was separated from that of Madras in 1886.

* Hindustani (*comp.* p. 182) is spoken by the Muhammadans from North India, who are the aristocracy and landowners.

Madras and the Mysore

The newer Indian Missions, whose establishment we have related, built upon the experience gained in the elder Missions of Madras* and the Mysore (*see* Chapter IX.). These Districts have undergone a striking and manifold development since 1857; they have had the advantage of a continuous policy for many years, under the wise direction of James Cooling, Chairman at Madras since 1888, and of Josiah Hudson who held the Mysore Chairmanship till 1895. The latter was succeeded for a short time by J. Alfred Vanes, and he by David Arthur Rees—both able administrators. The progress of these Missions has been marked, especially in the following directions: in the growth of the native Indian Church; the advance of education in all grades; the effective use of the Press; the establishment of medical and philanthropic institutions; and the uplifting of the Pariah and low-caste populations. In these various lines of progress the Women's Auxiliary of the Missionary Society, from 1858 onwards, has been an indispensable ally (*see* Chapter XIII.).

(1) The solidarity of Indian society,† and the interweaving of religion with family-life and daily occupation, made it impossible for the small and isolated groups of converts at first gathered to attain a proper *Church-life*. Powers of self-nurture and self-propagation developed slowly in the mission-communities. This stage has first been reached in the older centres, such as Madras, where Christians are numbered by thousands and belong to all grades of society Here the Church is able to raise its head above the tyranny of the caste-system. Several Indian Circuits have now arrived at the dignity of self-support, and maintain their own pastorate. The growth of Christian character accompanies this progress. In Karur, a country-town of the Negapatam District, the Industrial School (commenced by Henry Little, to provide for the famine-orphans of 1877) has contributed to rear a Christian community, by training the younger generation in ways of independent livelihood. In some villages of the Mysore, as amongst the Santals of Bengal (*see* p. 182), the missionary has been compelled to obtain land on which to settle his

* The District of Negapatam and Trichinopoly was formed in 1885 out of the southern part of the Madras District; its chief stations lie on or near the River Kāveri.

† No subjection of an Englishman to the tyranny of fashion, to the *noblesse oblige* of his order, to the public opinion of a set or sect, gives more than a faint idea of the utter identification of the Hindu with his family and caste, in mind, conscience, and will.

disinherited converts, and a rural Christian community has thus been formed. In manifold ways, and with a cumulative growth, Indian Methodism is acquiring a corporate existence and character, and learning to stand on its own feet. The Church-development upon this area is well indicated by the multiplication of the indigenous ministry—from seven to thirty-eight—between the years 1857 and 1912.

The establishment of the Provincial Synods in 1893 marks a great constitutional step toward Church-autonomy. The first of these assemblies met at Bangalore, under the presidency of Josiah Hudson. (Triennial Conferences, of a consultative nature, had previously been held.) The local Districts of the Mission are grouped in three Provinces: Ceylon, with its North and South Districts; South India, covering four Districts; North India, also with four Districts, including Burma. The Provincial Synods meet yearly, after the District Synods, reviewing their reports and disciplinary proceedings, and providing Courts of Superior Jurisdiction, whose authority (with certain reservations) is final. These larger Synods contain representatives of the Indian Ministry side by side with the English missionary staff; they secure a common policy, and foster a connexional spirit contributing to the growth of an Indian Christendom. Once in six years, or so, a General Synod is called, embracing the three Provinces, under the presidency of a delegate from England. The principle of lay-representation in the temporal business of the Church has been introduced in several Synods, and is applied in the case of self-supporting Circuits.

(2) No lesson was more deeply impressed on the missionary mind of India by its early experience than the imperative need for Christian *schools and colleges*. The Indian Government became convinced about the same period of the necessity for Western education. Methodist High Schools were established during the 'sixties and 'seventies at Madras, Negapatam, Bangalore, and Mysore City, several of which have grown into Colleges; and a network of elementary schools was spread through the towns and villages touched by the Mission. Through the humble day-school, conducted by a native Christian teacher under the missionary's supervision, the Gospel has found its entrance into hundreds of Hindu villages; the evangelist follows the teacher, and the chapel follows the school-house. The *guru* (teacher) is an object of reverence everywhere in India. Higher institutions were required for the training of native pastors and teachers; these have been raised up, slowly and with scanty equipment,

in the several Districts. The Churches are learning to co-operate for such purposes. Years ago the Free Church of Scotland invited the C.M.S. and W.M.M.S. to join hands with it in building up the Madras Christian College, now the most powerful educational instrument in South India. At Bangalore a united Theological College, for India and Ceylon, has been lately formed by a combination of five Missionary Societies. This concentration, beside effecting a considerable economy, will tend to unify Indian Christianity, saving it from sectarianism and giving to its ministry a richer fellowship in Christ.

Well-conducted Christian High Schools and Colleges attract the best youth of Indian caste-families. Non-Christian fathers often prefer for their children Christian teaching to that offered by secular Government institutions, because of the higher morale of the former. The demand for our best education on the part of the upper classes of India affords a providential opportunity of incalculable value. Through this avenue Christian ideas and sentiments are being conveyed to the intellect, and often to the heart, of her most thoughtful people. A powerful ferment is set up, generating reforms within Hinduism itself, which are bound to lead to Christ; the attitude of Indian society toward Christianity is slowly but inevitably changing, and caste-persecution tends to relax its severity. Innumerable friendly ties are created, despite the exclusiveness of Hindu society. The Kellett Institute in Triplicane, Madras—built chiefly through the contributions of old Christian College students of all religions, given in memory of the late Frederick William Kellett—is a striking evidence of the spell which the personality of a noble teacher casts on young India. Direct and declared conversions won by Higher Education have not been numerous, since baptism commonly involves for children of caste-families the loss of all that life holds dear,—often the deadliest peril to life itself; but they are all the more signal, when they occur; and they give us men framed to lead their fellows. The parallel work carried on in girls' education has been noticed in Chapter XIII.

(3) Education implies *literature*. This consequence began to be realised half a century ago, when John Murdoch, a missionary of the L.M.S. in Ceylon, founded "The Christian Literature Society," which seeks to provide a wholesome pabulum, in the Indian and Ceylonese vernaculars, for the great host of readers created by modern education. Without some such supply, Indian youths may learn reading in Mission Schools only to fill their minds with the foul stories of Hindu mythology, or with the cheap

translations of Western Agnostic and Anti-Christian books. This Society is doing a most necessary, but a difficult and costly work, and deserves the encouragement of all well-wishers to Eastern Christendom. Several of our ablest missionaries are employed in the work of the C.L.S.I. Our own Press in Mysore City is a valuable missionary agency, and aids greatly in the instruction of the Native Church. The *Vrittanta Patrike*, founded by Dr. Henry Haigh, circulates everywhere amongst Kanarese readers; it is one of the best-conducted and most influential Christian newspapers in India.

(4) Our Indian *medical* service has not been developed so largely as the Chinese. The British Government makes some provision for the helpless sick, and combats plague and epidemic diseases; but there is crying need for the missionary physician—especially in the Native States (*see* p. 174). We have seven hospitals—at Mylapore and Ikkadu (Madras District), Mysore City, Hassan (Mysore District), Medak, Nizamabad (Haidarabad), Akbarpur (L. & B. District)—and nine dispensaries at work in India (mostly in the South); all but one of these are under the direction of the Women's Auxiliary. In raising hospitals the Mission receives liberal help from the native community, and from grateful patients, both amongst Hindus and Muhammadans.

The *Industrial Schools*, at Tumkur (Mysore), Karur (*see* p. 186), Nizamabad (Nizam's Dominion), Bankura, and Jabalpur (Central Provinces), are mostly the outcome of famine-relief operations; they have become permanent institutions, of the highest value for the training of village-converts, and the emancipation of industry from caste-fetters. This type of school could be multiplied with advantage a hundred-fold. Other kindred agencies, for the uplifting of Indian women, have been described at length on pp. 176, 177.

(5) *The redemption of the Pariah* has been the most conspicuous feature of South Indian missionary work during the last thirty years (*comp.* the cases of the Malas of Haidarabad, p. 185, and the Doms of Benares, p. 183): this movement is nothing less than a social upheaval. It commenced, in the Madras District, with the tours of George McKenzie Cobban through the rural districts westward of the city; and it has been developed and built up, round Ikkadu in the Tiruvallur Circuit, by William Goudie. To "the untouchable" Pariah Hinduism has nothing to offer but contempt and outrage; he is damned by his birth! The services of the out-castes are useful to caste-men, like those of animals, and they are treated with more or less consideration on this account; but

the pious Hindu recognises no moral bond between himself and them. On their side, religion is, in effect, " a form of mental disease, best expressed by the term *demonophobia*." Fear—of gods and men—and perpetual hunger are the compelling passions of the Pariah's life. These most wretched people in multitudes have now caught the idea that somehow there is help for them in the name of *Jesus*! Low-caste, or out-caste, folk turn towards Christianity commonly in clans or village-groups. The headman, moved by reasons in which a glimmering of spiritual desire mingles with the craving for physical betterment, comes to the missionary asking that his people may have a Christian teacher, like others they have heard of. Many of them are found, so far as they understand, ready to believe what is taught them about Christ and to walk in " the Christian way."

What is the condition of these would-be converts, already counted " Christians " by their heathen neighbours ? " Imagine a people with as strong an inherited tendency to idolatry and its ritual as the inherited craving for drink which afflicts some poor creatures in England ; to whom obscenity in speech and act is as commonplace as eating and drinking, who seem scarcely capable of shame for anything that we reckon sin ; whose knowledge of the world does not extend beyond their own little group of huts, while the limbs of their mental and spiritual being alike are shrivelled from long disuse. . . . The unspeakably important work which occupies us," writes the missionary, " consists in the patient training of such people as these, until in understanding, character, behaviour, and usefulness they have reached, or surpassed, the level of what we commonly mean by Christian manhood or womanhood." This is the work that, through God's mercy, is being accomplished in an ever-multiplying number of instances. The buried intelligence is re-awakened, the brutalised conscience recovered, through the teaching of the Gospel and by contact with the softening and purifying influences of Christian love.

First, the children of both sexes are gathered into a simple school—it is a testing sacrifice for the parents to forgo the tiny earnings of the scholars. The catechist and his wife go in and out amongst the villagers, making friends with them by degrees. They live in a clean, well-kept hut, eating decent and decently prepared food ; their children are neat, orderly, pleasant-mannered ; they afford simple aid to their neighbours in sickness and trouble. All this is a revelation,—slowly apprehended, but wonderfully telling. Public worship is held ; passages of

Scripture, Christian lyrics, and rudiments of Christian doctrine are taught in catechetical fashion, to as many as will listen and repeat. Little by little, understanding and faith come by hearing; conceptions of the love of God, and of the meaning and worth of purity, dawn on the thick darkness of the Pariah mind (*comp.* p. 177).

In the children "the fruit of the Spirit" will be distinctly seen. The more promising of these are taken to the Boarding School at the headquarters of the Mission, where they live in Indian fashion but in a Christian atmosphere; many of them become unmistakably converted to God. The girls learn needlework, and Indian cookery, and the care of children; they acquire cleanly and moral habits, which will persist to a large extent on their return home. When they marry, their homes—squalid as they might seem to an English eye—will be far sweeter and healthier than anything their parents knew. Where the elders blindly stumbled in "the Way," their children walk oftentimes steadily. Low as they have sunk, the Indian Pariahs prove to be, neither intellectually nor morally, an irreclaimable race. Already some of their sons have risen, by the ladder of the Christian school and college, to places beside the Brahman in the higher avocations of life. This is His doing who "raiseth up the poor out of the dust, the needy from the dunghill, to make them sit with princes!" The only limit to the work of reclamation in certain districts is that imposed by the paucity of trained agents, and the scantiness of mission-funds.

The resurrection of the Pariah is producing a profound impression on the mind of India. Hinduism itself pays a tribute to Christianity on this score. An Indian gentleman, writing some time ago to the *Hindu* newspaper, declared that "all educated men who have given the slightest attention to the condition of the masses, ought to welcome the endeavours of the missionaries to convert the lower classes of the people to Christianity"; another writes, "The salvation of the poor people of India lies in their conversion to Christianity." That such Hindus as these, though deeming Christianity needless for themselves, have unconsciously drunk of its spirit, is manifest.

Christianity has so far wrought chiefly upon the highest and lowest strata of Indian society—upon the intellectual Brahmans eager for Western learning, and upon the degraded Pariahs whose misery welcomes the Gospel. The great middle-classes of the country remain as yet comparatively unaffected.

Indian Statistics of the W.M.M.S. for 1912 :

District.	Member-ship.	Adherents.	Mission-aries.	Indian Ministers.
Madras - - -	2,360	8,183	19	15
Negapatam and Trichinopoly -	728	2,071	13	8
Haidarabad - -	3,080	14,682	15	6
Mysore - - -	2,249	3,664	23	15
Bengal - - -	1,362	3,030	12	6
Lucknow and Benares	466	2,122	9	5
Bombay and Punjab	740	4,439	6	1
Burma - - -	508	701	11	—
	11,493	38,892	108	56

CEYLON

Ceylon now follows India in the order of our history (*comp.* Chapter IX.), not because the missionary work of the island has fallen into the rear, but because that of the continent, with its immense area and population, has so greatly expanded.

In South Ceylon the active conflict with Buddhism, of which Daniel J. Gogerly had been the protagonist (*see* p. 114), continued during the 'sixties and 'seventies in the shape of public debates between the advocates of the rival religions, such as never take place to-day. These combats served a useful purpose by compelling the compromising Sinhalese to decision. Deep impressions were made when missionaries, and sometimes native Christians, in the name of the Lord Jesus with impunity defied the devil-priests to bewitch them ; by such demonstrations sorcery was widely discredited.

During the middle period of the S. Ceylon Mission, the development of the Sinhalese ministry was pushed forward, although at that time little provision could be made for its testing and training, the European staff being severely cut down. Discipline suffered in consequence. Hence when Robert Spence Hardy assumed the Chairmanship in 1862 (*see* p. 115), he found himself obliged to reduce the reported Church-membership by a third—a pruning followed by the notable revival of 1865–6. Not till 1871 was regular provision made, at Richmond Hill, Galle (*see* p. 114), for the training of the Sinhalese pastorate. Up to that time young men designated for the ministry depended for instruction upon the individual and occasional efforts of

preoccupied missionaries. Notwithstanding, many of the earlier home-born ministry showed themselves men of gifts and power.

Even after the revival to which we have referred, it has been complained that the Methodism of S. Ceylon did not grow in missionary zeal with its growth in numbers and education. Recently a more aggressive spirit has been awakened; the Sinhalese Church has undertaken, with hopeful energy, to evangelize the neglected North-western Province.

Colombo contains many thousands of Tamils, who supply largely its working-class population. For these a missioner was requested from North Ceylon in 1871; and John Wesley Phillips (1865–84), son of the first Tamil-speaking Ceylon minister (*see* p. 117), was so appointed. Two Tamil Circuits have been formed in and about Colombo—one, which is now self-supporting, containing chiefly immigrants from Jaffna; the other, being concerned with Tamil people from the mainland little touched by Christianity, is at the purely missionary stage.

The attention of our missionaries was recalled to Kandy (*see* p. 115) during the 'sixties. Coffee-planting was rapidly extending on the hills in the neighbourhood; tradespeople and mechanics moved thither from the coast-towns. About 1865 a certain Mr. Eaton, a notable Advocate resident in Kandy, began to preach and to start Class-meetings for the English-speaking folk. He discovered a number of Methodists amongst the native immigrants, and appealed to Colombo for a minister. Accordingly, George Baugh (later of Calcutta) was sent early in 1867, and took up the work lying ready to hand. A native colleague was soon required for the Sinhalese Church, formed mainly of Methodists from the coast. Burdened with pastoral cares, these missionaries could do little to evangelize the new country. Soon came the coffee-blight, which ended the prosperity of the district—only partially restored by the later introduction of tea-planting. Kandy has not proved for us a fruitful missionary centre; its Church has needed much nursing; the Schools are, however, remarkably good, and better things may be expected.

In 1885 advance was made from Kandy to Uva, the country between the inland capital and the eastern coast. This also was a district of coffee-plantations, succeeded on their failure by tea. The people were Sinhalese and nominally Buddhist, but in a woefully benighted and semi-barbarous condition. Samuel Langdon, the conductor of this Mission (1873–96), applied himself unsparingly and successfully to the uplifting of the Uvas. The admirable Girls' School at Badulla has been already noticed (p. 177).

A similar attempt for Uva boys was merged later in the Wellewatte Industrial School, near Colombo. Medical and Bible-women's work are carried on here under exceptional difficulties; for the villages lie far apart, connected only by jungle and forest-tracks.

A special hindrance to missionary work throughout the centre of Ceylon lies in the monopoly of the best land by the Buddhist temples, enabling the priests, who are the landlords, in many localities to starve out Christian converts. The visible improvement in the whole condition of the people—physical, mental, and moral—within the sphere of Christian Missions, affords evidence, notwithstanding, of their genuine success.

For twenty years (1885–1905) the Methodism of South Ceylon was divided, because of the difficulties of travelling and with a view to stimulating local activity, into three Districts centring at Colombo, Kandy, and Galle. Railway communication has superseded this partition, and the divisions have been merged once more in the "South Ceylon District," to the quickening of their common life.

In the North Ceylon (Tamil) District the years 1860–75), under the Chairmanship of John Kilner (*see* pp. 31 and 117), were a time of rapid and sound progress. The Church-membership was doubled in these sixteen years; the native ministry grew from two to ten; financial contributions increased seven-fold. The results of a generation of Christian teaching were turned to account by a plan of aggressive evangelism, which was carried out through native activity on a scale previously unattempted. Plant for native agency to the value of £3,000 (two-thirds of the amount being raised locally) was set up, and paid for, in 1872–5,—a fruitful Church-investment. These developments of the Mission were accompanied by a "revolution in public sentiment as to the purity of the motives and the validity of the claims of Christian philanthropy."

Jaffna was the scene of a marvellous revival in 1887, when Anglicans and Salvationists bore a part in quickening Methodist zeal. One slumbering Tamil Christian was so awakened, that he roused his whole village to religious concern. Enlisted for service in the most difficult sphere of the Mission, at the centre of intellectual Sivaism, this man utterly spent himself in labour; he died within a few years, not without winning many souls for Christ, and leaving a memorable testimony. "The gracious work spread to every corner of the District."

Our Tamil work in Ceylon has matured beyond that of India. Confined to a narrower area, it has been more intensive in method.

Moreover, the Hindu caste-system, while still powerful, presents a less fierce resistance than it does on the mainland ; it is rare for a convert to be ostracized in North Ceylon because of his religion. The Christians are mostly descendants of respectable caste families ; the work of the School and Church is built on a foundation of good breeding in the native stock. The constant stream of southward emigration from this end of the island carries with it much of the fruit of the Mission to enrich other fields.

There is no element of population amongst the Ceylon Tamils resembling the Pariah-folk of South India. The jungle-country round Batticaloa is haunted, however, by the aboriginal Veddahs, for whose evangelization special measures are required. After the lapse of nearly half a century, work amongst these wild people was resumed in 1893. Land has been secured, on which two small Veddah settlements have been formed, with the hope that these may become centres for the reclamation of the race.

This District, with its large and self-supporting Churches at Jaffna, Batticaloa, and Point Pedro, " its vigorous outlying work, its reliable laymen and strong, good native ministry," provides a powerful instrument for the conversion of the masses of Tamil Hinduism. As in the South, so in North Ceylon, the coming of the Missionary Centenary appears to be prompting our people to a more serious consecration, and a deeper sense of responsibility toward their unconverted fellow-countrymen.

Both in India and Ceylon, mission-work becomes increasingly specialised as it addresses itself more and more to the whole condition of the people. Colleges (two of them of the highest grade) and Training Institutions are established at Colombo, Galle, Kandy, Jaffna, and Batticaloa ; Industrial Schools, at three centres ; at Puttur, on the Jaffna peninsula, there is a small Training Institute for Biblewomen and Deaconesses, under the direction of two ladies supplied by the Deaconess Order in England. A Mission Press is at work at Batticaloa ; another is associated with the Book Room in Colombo. Medical work is carried on at four stations. The Colleges are the crown of a graded system of Schools for boys and girls, which pervades the Mission and is everywhere its best auxiliary.

Throughout the island there has spread a concerted movement in defence of the old religions, Buddhism and Hinduism, which is at once a menace to Christianity and a tribute to its popular influence (*comp.* p. 171). This revival is associated, to a large extent, with the spirit of nationalism abroad in the air ; Christianity is denounced as a foreign and alien creed. The Christian missionary is no longer met by apathetic indifference ; his movements are

vigilantly watched, and his methods slavishly imitated. Opposition to the Christian propaganda is organized and captained by American or European Anti-Christians. "Every foot of new territory has now to be won by much sacrifice and toil and prayer."

Colombo, the political centre of the island, and for sea-voyagers "the Clapham Junction of the East," is the strategic point of this new war. The Colombo staff of the W.M.M.S. has been occupied with pastoral, educational, and administrative cares precluding the evangelization of the cosmopolitan city populace, which should rather be its first business. This is an imperial, and not a mere insular question. A critical venture is now being made (1912) by the opening of a Central Mission in Colombo, with an experienced missionary at its head, which will seek to concentrate the evangelistic forces of all our Churches in its appeal, by preaching and works of mercy, to the non-Christian multitudes of the city.

The South Ceylon District reports in 1912 seven self-sustaining Circuits, with a total Church-membership exceeding 2,000; nine "aided" Circuits, having a membership of 1,100; and nineteen mission Circuits, with an aggregate membership of about the same number. The baptized adherents may be counted at about three times the numbers above given. Sixteen English missionaries (ministers or laymen) are at work, along with thirty-four Ceylonese colleagues, and fifteen agents of the Women's Auxiliary. This staff is supplemented by an army of native workers of various orders, paid and unpaid.

The Northern District counts about 1,800 Church-members. Its European missionaries number 10; its Tamil ministers, 19; its English women-workers, 10. The lay native helpers—catechists, school-masters, Bible-women, etc.,—of this District rank high in intelligence and activity.

Enough has been effected in this favoured and prosperous island, by our own and other Evangelical Churches, to supply a vantage-ground for the winning of Ceylon to Christ. The work done is sufficient to encourage and compel the Church to *more*.

CHAPTER XV

Toward the Heart of Africa

West Africa

Chapter VI. traced the course of Methodist work along the coast of Western Africa through its first half-century—a track

marked by missionary graves. The later decades have witnessed manifold developments and extensions upon this great field, indicated by a growth in recognised Church-membership from less than 10,000 reported in 1857 to over 27,000 in the year 1912.

During this period the population of the *Sierra Leone District* (*see* p. 66), has greatly changed in character. The descendants of the liberated slaves, with their " pidgin English " and their more or less binding attachment to Christianity, are increasingly outnumbered by heathen and Muhammadan immigrants, most of whom retain their vernacular speech. New missionary work is thus brought to the door of the old mission-stations,—work uncongenial to the settled Christian communities. Yet only vigorous aggression will save the Church from being swamped by the incoming tide.

On the *Gambia*, at Bathurst and Macarthy's Island (*see* pp. 69-71), which have been re-attached to the Sierra Leone District, the Society has shepherded the little flock descended from the freedmen planted here early in last century. The unhealthy climate which has made European residence so precarious, the political obstructions in our way (*see* p. 72), and our scanty resources, have impeded the invasion, long due, of the Muhammadan population along the river-banks. Ours is the only Protestant mission at work about Bathurst, and this piece of evangelism falls to us.

The Missionary Society in West Africa increasingly aims at shaping the existing West African Methodism into a missionary instrument. An important step was taken toward this end when, under the energetic chairmanship of Benjamin Tregaskis (West Indies, 1836–63 ; Sierra Leone, 1864–73), a High School for boys was planted in Freetown (1873). Its first Principal was Joseph Claudius May, F.R.G.S.,—son of Joseph May, ex-slave and missionary—who served in this post very efficiently, until his death in 1902. The coloured Christian ministry, the professions and Government service of the Colony, were recruited from this school. Girls'-school work lagged behind that done for boys ; the family life and social influence of educated Africans were liable to be spoilt through this ignorance of their wives. Mrs. Godman—wife of Matthew Godman (Gambia, 1843–46 ; South Africa, 1847–76 ; General Superintendent, Sierra Leone, 1877–82) —started a " Wesleyan Female I stitution," which after some vicissitudes was merged in the Girls' High School, now conducted by Wesley Deaconesses (*see* p. 178). A third line of educational service, full of promise, was developed in 1901, when William Thomas Balmer, B.A., was sent out to establish in Sierra

Leone, under the name of "Richmond College," a permanent Training Institution for Native Agents.* At Bathurst, beside the Boys' High School with its native head-master, there is an Industrial Institution, where negro lads are turned into intelligent and competent Christian artisans. In such institutions, surrounded by a hearty and disciplined Church-life, lies a chief hope for the future of West Africa. The Negro Church of this District, enabled to "add to her faith virtue, and to virtue knowledge, and to knowledge self-control," will send out saving influences as various as are the elements of her constituency.

Since Matthew Godman's appointment, in 1877, the Sierra Leone District has considerably enlarged its territory. In 1879 Sherbro was occupied, an island of the Protectorate in which a powerful and insidious Paganism was entrenched. From Sherbro the Gospel spread to the mainland. At a church-opening in the new country in 1898, a mob of armed heathen fell on the congregation, killing a number of the people in their flight. This murderous attack arrested the mission for a time. But in the following year an invitation came from the neighbouring king of Bandajuma in Mendiland, distant a week's journey south-eastwards from Freetown, which was gladly accepted, and this town soon became the centre of a vigorous evangelism. When a few years later a new king came to the throne, the Methodist Church supplied the place of coronation and the officiating minister.

The Limbah country, in the north of the Protectorate, was opened to us in 1880; the Mission soon extended to the Great Scarcies River on the north-western boundary. The advance of the work in this quarter is limited by the lack of agents. The Sierra Leone workers have been slow to acquire a strange tongue, and to enter what is to them, as really as to the Englishman, a foreign field, imposing exile, privation, and peril. Richmond College (*see* above) may be counted on to supply this deficiency; its students work at the vernaculars for missionary use.

Over large parts of the Sierra Leone District, including Bathurst, the coloured Churches are quite self-supporting, and contribute generously for missionary purposes. Improved health in the mission-staff (*see* p. 65) has made continuity of policy attainable. Since 1859, when an epidemic of yellow fever carried off four members of our English Mission at Sierra Leone, no fatal casualty occurred here until 1907. Benjamin Tregaskis and Matthew Godman were followed, for a term of Chairmanship

* Richmond College was removed in 1909 to the Gold Coast, where it was attached to the old Mfantsipim Boys' School, reorganized by Mr. Balmer. The College is affiliated to London University,

covering, with intervals, more than twenty years, by the able and modest William H. Maude, whose work in Sierra Leone commenced as far back as 1867.

* * * * *

On the *Gold Coast* and eastwards, the Gospel has had free course in the last half-century. But for the decimation in missionary ranks of former years, its progress on these fields might well have been as marvellous as in Fiji.

A strong distinction exists between the work of the mission on the coast and that of the up-country stations; the shore-natives are affected by European ideas and manners, both for good and evil; inland, primitive heathenism prevails. Language, however, is here no such bar to communication as it is around Sierra Leone (*see* p. 69), for the coast-people share the vernaculars of their adjacent hinterland kinsfolk.

Progress has been hindered on the Gold Coast District, even more than in Sierra Leone, by the lack of female education. Says Dennis Kemp, in his interesting *Nine Years at the Gold Coast:* "The most important work at the Gold Coast is (European) women's work amongst (native) women." Good teaching for women will supply the surest means, both of uprooting heathenism in Africa and of counterworking Muhammadanism. Fortunately for the people, the Lutheran (Basle) missionaries, and the Roman Catholic nuns, have been alert and busy where Methodist teachers were wanting. We have now, however, a couple of flourishing girls' schools, staffed by Wesley Deaconesses, at Cape Coast Castle and Accra respectively.

Notwithstanding its disadvantages, this District has reported an increase of Church-membership in every year since its inception. A memorable outpouring of the Holy Spirit gladdened the workers on the coast-towns after the close of the Ashanti War of 1874. Three thousand members were added in 1877 to the Church, half of whom were baptized by the venerable Father Freeman (*see* pp. 73–78), who, in this great awakening, was seen passing from village to village, gathering the Leaders together for counsel, teaching the new converts "the right ways of the Lord" and guiding the movement into safe channels.

Behind the Gold Coast, in Ashanti—that land of cruelty and bloodshed—Methodism had a chequered history (*comp.* pp. 73–75). Time after time sickness and death, or outbursts of savage treachery, have struck down or driven out the missionary, and his work has fallen to seeming ruin. But under the wreck some seed of life still vegetated. Fifteen years ago our membership was reduced to ten; to-day it numbers a thousand. With the

better conditions of health and civil order now assured, the Ashantis may be made good soldiers of Christ Jesus. North of Ashanti, and beyond the forest belt in which Kumassi lies, the way appears open for the advance of the Gospel. Out of the "Gold Mines Mission," nearer to the coast, a Circuit has grown up 90 miles in length, with 23 preaching-places, and a Church-membership exceeding 1,200.

An effective native pastorate has been raised up in the Gold Coast Mission; the Training Institution, now provided (p. 198), will further the development of the indigenous ministry. Duties of general oversight, education, and frontier-work occupy the limited English staff, consisting of eight men.

The liberality of the Gold Coast Methodists is proverbial. This Missionary District shares with Barbados in the West Indies the distinction of contributing to the Missionary Society greatly more than it receives. It was the first District in Methodism to report its quota of the Centenary Fund as already lodged in the Bank.

* * * * *

We have seen how that restless evangelist, Thomas Freeman, carried the Gospel, during the early 'forties, far east to Badagry (the nest of a foul slavery) and Abeokuta (p. 76), situated in what is now known as the *Lagos District.* In the next decade the slave-trade was suppressed, and in 1861 Lagos was ceded to the British Crown. Already in 1854 Ebenezer A. Gardiner had been stationed at Lagos, its first European missionary. This town has steadily grown in size and importance, and is the seat of British administration.

Meanwhile inland Abeokuta, the capital of the Egbas, built by the worthy King Shodeke (*see* p. 76), had suffered lamentable neglect; many of its converts relapsed into polygamy and heathen habits. Not until 1861 could a permanent European appointment be made. Thomas Champness was sent hither, after three years' apprenticeship at Sierra Leone. This noble man "soon became an expert in the use of the Negro-English idiom" and "acquired a fair knowledge of the native tongue;" his brief ministry in Abeokuta has left abiding fruit. In 1867 a hostile outbreak drove his successor from the town. The Mission-house was saved by the courage of a native woman. Seven years later the work was resumed.

From Lagos our Mission has spread further into the interior than elsewhere in West Africa. John Milum (1871–81)—a man "distinguished by great sagacity, pluck, and godly zeal," the friend and vindicator of Thomas Freeman—made his way up

the River Niger, and planted a native minister in the Nupé country, far to the north-east of Lagos. John T. F. Halligey, who has laboured for many years in Western Africa "amid deaths oft," succeeded to Milum's Chairmanship in 1887, just as the obstacles to entering the Yoruba hinterland (stretching due north of Lagos) were removed. Distant Nupé was then abdicated in favour of the C.M.S.,* which had made the Niger riverain its sphere, so that the Wesleyan forces might be concentrated on the wide and needy field now inviting them. Mr. Halligey led a successful expedition as far north as Ogbomosho, and planted agents at strategic points along the route.

Yoruba is a land of forest cities. The largest of these, Ibadan, situated 100 miles north-west of Lagos, is computed to contain a quarter of a million people. Here the headquarters of the District are now fixed; a Training College has been planted, under an English Principal, while a couple of native pastors have charge of an extensive Circuit. Our one West African medical missionary, Dr. J. R. C. Stephens,† is practising at Igbora, an up-country village centre in this District, where a successful dispensary has been carried on since 1908.

Altogether, "seven missionaries, five African Ministers, and nearly forty Catechists are working in the interior. In Lagos itself we have two self-supporting Circuits, with fourteen churches, eight other preaching-places, and six African Ministers, besides several Catechists, and sixty-eight Local Preachers." There are, moreover, High Schools for Boys and Girls at Lagos,—the latter staffed by Wesley Deaconesses.

The French territory of Dahomey and German Togoland (formerly Popo: *see* p. 77) separate the Gold Coast from Lagos. Since Freeman's day we have kept a precarious footing in each of these foreign Colonies. Their Governments look askance upon British agents; they insist on the use of the official language in the schools—an embarrassing condition for our work.

The Church-membership of the Lagos District has reached 5,000, and progress goes on at an accelerated pace. Much is due to the leadership of J. Dawson Sutcliffe (1886–1904) and of Oliver J. Griffin, the successive Chairmen of the last twenty years. When Christianized, this country will furnish a basis for the evangelisation of interior Africa across the Niger.

* The friendly co-operation between the C.M.S. and the W.M.M.S., which marked the beginning of West African Missions (*see* pp. 67, 76), has been happily continued.

† Dr. Stephens, who began his work in 1912, is supported by the Wesley Guild. A second medical missionary is going to this District.

Every advance made amongst the negro peoples of Western Africa brings the Church into closer conflict with Islam, the Antichrist of this continent, by whose aggression the ancient flourishing Christianity of Northern Africa was destroyed. In the last century a powerful revival of Muslim fanaticism has taken place in north-central Africa; thence the emissaries of the Prophet are pressing south and westwards. Every Hansa trader is a missionary of his faith. The disarming of the warlike heathen tribes inhabiting the mountain ranges of the north-central interior has opened gates formerly closed to these invaders.

Islam has much to offer to the untutored pagan. Admittedly, it effects a partial elevation of the fetish-worshipping negro; there its redeeming influence stops. Muhammadanism "is a religion without the Divine Fatherhood, without compassion for those outside its pale; and to the womanhood of Africa it is a religion of despair and doom." Muhammad is no "schoolmaster to lead to Christ"; but a rival who bars His way. Paganism cannot live in the new light; but where Islam steps in first by ever so little, Christianity is shut out for generations. The menace of a continent's perversion to Islam lowers on the horizon. For the honour of Christ, for the love of souls, for the sanctity of womanhood, for the peace and safety of Europe, the march of Muhammad must be challenged. A new and holier Crusade is called for, in which the spiritual weapons of God's kingdom shall be plied upon an adequate scale, and with the skill and heroism worthy of the trained soldiers of Christ. Never has a more challenging summons reached the ears of Christendom, than that which is now sounding from the heart of Africa.

South Africa

South Africa, with its swarming native peoples and thriving European colonies, is concerned in the struggle with Muhammadanism more remotely, but not less vitally, than the rest of the continent. We left this field, in closing Chapter VII., at the point where William Shaw's work in Africa was finished (1856), and when, after a period of discouragement following the Kafir wars and aggravated by diminished support from home, the missionaries again took heart and resumed their advance along the original lines.

Radiating from the Cape Colony, the Mission had spread in three directions—along the western and eastern coasts, and northwards across the Orange River, *i.e.*, into Namaqualand, Kaffraria, and Bechuanaland. The westward march had reached

its terminus (*see* p. 83); but eastwards and north-eastwards a chain of missionary forts had been carried through Kafirland, which, though repeatedly broken by war, had been as often repaired, and was now to be broadened into a solid occupation. The Bechuanaland Mission remained as yet attached to the Albany and Kaffraria District. Not until the year 1863 was this huge area divided: into the *Graham's Town District*, which covered the old Albany Colony (*see* p. 86); the *King-William's Town* (later *Queen's Town*) *District*, situated north of the former-part of this country had been annexed by the British for colonisation; and the *Bechuana District*, stretching along and beyond the Orange River. The last became in 1873 the "Bloemfontein District," named after the capital of the recently formed (Dutch) Orange River State, through whose territory our work gradually spread. In 1879 the Clarkebury District was formed out of Kafir Circuits in the north-east of the Queenstown District; to these were added certain Native Circuits bordering on Natal, which for some years had been attached to the Natal District. The Cape Town District remained geographically what it had been in Barnabas Shaw's time. South African Methodism thus assumed its fixed configuration.

Through the later 'sixties and 'seventies peace generally prevailed in the Colonies and Kaffraria, and prosperity returned; "the Churches had rest, and were edified and multiplied." Between 1856 and 1875 the number of Methodist Church-members in South Africa grew from 8,000 to 14,000; by the year of independence (1882), this figure approached 20,000.

Along with the steady and general extension of the Church's work, two outstanding features marked its development at this time. These were (1) the thirst for knowledge awakened in the natives. Whiteside's History defines 1875–1905 as the "Era of Education." As superstition declined and the material condition of the people improved, "the importance of reading, writing, arithmetic, and singing took a firm hold of the native mind." The Colonial Government encouraged this appetite; and the missionaries did the utmost which their scanty means allowed, to meet the welcome craving. Industrial Schools had been planted years before at various Stations; in 1867 the Healdtown Training Institution for African ministers and teachers was started, which has for long held a leading place in the Colony; elsewhere new institutes of the like nature were now established. Notwithstanding these measures, when Mr. Kilner visited the S.A. Districts in 1880–1 (*see* p. 206), he still complained of their backwardness in educational work; later years have witnessed

strenuous efforts to make good the deficiency. The Kafir race is developing notable powers under Christian education.

(2) This period was also remarkable for religious revivals and the deepening of spiritual life in S. A. Methodism. Several manifestations of the kind have been previously noticed (*see* pp. 86, 94); others took place subsequently, in this locality or that. But the revival of 1866 spread through the Colonies and Kaffraria. The instrument of this awakening was William Taylor (afterwards Bishop Taylor),* of the M. E. Church in America, an evangelist of the most incisive and commanding type. The "black years" of 1863–5, marked by severe agricultural and commercial depression, had sobered men's minds and predisposed them to religious conviction. The American missioner's preaching gained momentum as he passed from town to town, until in many places the whole colonial population came under its spell, and conversions were wrought by thousands. When he found, in Charles Pamla, the right interpreter, the like effects were produced amongst educated natives (the evangelist could make nothing, it appeared, of the raw heathen). In quantity and quality alike, the religious life of S. A. Methodism was advanced by this blessed visitation. Fresh encouragement was given to Kafir preaching; the regular training of our native ministry began from this date.

* * * * *

The *Bechuana-Bloemfontein District* during the years 1857–82 underwent a transformation. Its early prosperity was arrested in the 'fifties. Quarrels became chronic amongst the medley of tribes scattered over the country north of the Orange River. The Mission-stations were disturbed, or even destroyed, and flourishing Churches broken up; the defeated tribes migrated beyond the reach of their pastors. Thaba 'Nchu (*see* p. 93) passed through severe vicissitudes. This Methodist settlement had gathered a population of 10,000, and was the largest native town in South Africa, when in 1852 the feud between the Baralong and Mantatees led to the removal of a section of the former to a district 300 miles to the north-west; here for a while they received occasional pastoral visits from Thaba 'Nchu. Many years later this isolated community was discovered by the missionary newly sent to Mafeking (*see* p. 208); under its chief Molema—Local Preacher and Class-Leader—for a generation the clan had preserved amidst the heathen its Methodist faith and worship. Again and again such dispersals have scattered

* Bishop Taylor's visits were attended with similar results in Canada, the West Indies, and Australia.

the fire of the Spirit to distant spots, where it kindled afresh. Slowly Thaba 'Nchu recovered from its loss, until a new strife in 1882 occasioned the annexation of the country by the Orange River State, when most of the remaining Baralong went into exile. By this time European colonists had multiplied in the neighbourhood, and its seclusion was gone.

The Boer trekkers of 1836 (*see* p. 84) made their home chiefly in the north-western corner of what is now the Orange River Colony. As their numbers grew they spread over the country, displacing or subjecting the natives. Their encroachments were a chief cause of tribal unrest; the British authorities of Cape Colony, whose jurisdiction in the 'forties extended to the Orange River, though often appealed to, were loth to interpose. Crime and violence increased; the Boers had no regular Government to be held responsible. Weary of the incessant disorder, in 1848 the British Governor annexed the debatable country, under the name of the "Orange River Sovereignty." There was now a promise of peace. England however was in one of her "cold fits" toward the Colonies, and the Home Government, which had already recognised the independence of the Transvaal Boers, set up in 1854 the "Orange River Free State," handing over to it the whole region between the Vaal and Orange Rivers. The new State established some kind of order in the country. It was not unfavourable to mission-work, except that it frowned upon the education of the natives.

Meanwhile, the Basutos eastward of the Orange River territory, under their able chief Moshesh, had become a formidable power. Their final struggle with the Boers came about in 1866–8, when they were completely beaten and threatened with extinction. The British Government now intervened; and a treaty was made, by which western Basutoland was ceded to the Orange River State and the remainder became a British Protectorate. In the course of this war a number of long-established and peaceable Methodist mission-stations were irreparably destroyed.

The discovery in 1870 of the diamond-deposits in West Griqualand, on the western fringe of the Orange River State, brought a new era to central South Africa. A swarming population quickly gathered on this desolate ground; the town of Kimberley sprang up, attracting European adventurers from all quarters, and native labourers of many different tribes. The vice and dissipation always rife in such communities spread their miasma; at the same time, a momentous opportunity was created for preaching the Gospel to men of all colours and in every variety of need.

This event converted British indifference toward the country

into an eager interest; the greater part of the diamond-bearing area was claimed as Colonial territory; and English control was established on the western, as it had been on the eastern side of the Boer Republics. Methodism soon found its way to Kimberley: two English ministers were appointed in 1872 to the "Diamond Fields" Circuit, and Native work was simultaneously commenced. This prompt action had its reward; the region has proved a centre of strength and wide-reaching influence to South African Methodism; Kimberley soon became the headquarters of the Mission. James Scott (son of "Stockholm Scott": *see* p. 132), Chairman of the Bechuana District for many years; Joseph D. M. Ludorf, scholar and physician as well as missionary; Gottlob Schreiner, father of a famous family and a man of remarkable courage and adventure; Richard Giddy, also Chairman in his turn and Superintendent of the Thaba 'Nchu press; Arthur Brigg—strong, gentle, wise, beloved of the Bechuanas—were the men who guided and fed Christ's sheep, and sought them out in the wilderness, during the war-wasted years.

The question of a central executive for South African Methodism was raised by William Shaw on his return to England. In 1860 he laid before the Missionary Committee a carefully devised plan for this object. His scheme was rejected at that time, since the Colonial Churches were as yet far from financial self-support. It was not merely the complication of South African questions, and the difficulty of dealing with them from England, that made local government desirable; but, still more, the isolation of the several Districts and Circuits, spread over so vast an area, imperilled connexional unity. The unification of the Districts, under the authority of a provincial Conference, would alone counteract this centrifugal tendency.

The above considerations led the Missionary Committee in 1873 to institute a triennial "General Meeting" of representatives from the South African Districts. Over the second of these gatherings, in 1876, Secretary Perks presided as deputation from the Mother Country. His gracious presence and genial wisdom brought blessing to the assembly, and to the Churches he visited; but South African journeying broke down Mr. Perks' health; and his lamented death, taking place soon after his return to England, arrested further plans for South African development.

The third General Meeting, held at Queenstown in June 1880, was epoch-making. John Kilner was its Chairman, representing the Mission House; he made a thorough visitation of the field, and brought all his energy, enthusiasm, and experience to bear

on its problems (*comp.* p. 117). Leading South African laymen were summoned to this Meeting, along with the District Chairmen and other foremost ministers. The President and the Assembly were alike resolved to bring matters to a crisis. A draft-plan for Home Rule was adopted, which Mr. Kilner on his return presented to the Missionary Committee. With some important modifications, this constitution was accepted by the British Conference of 1882, and took effect in the next year, when the first Wesleyan Methodist Conference was held at Cape Town. The granting of self-government led to a rapid development of local resources and of connexional spirit. The grants from the Missionary Committee to the several Districts amounted in 1882 to £14,000: it was provided that this sum should be reduced by regular decrements, until in 1902 all ordinary remittance should cease. During the thirty years that have elapsed since the establishment of this Conference, its Church-membership has multiplied from 20,000 to 126,000*; the local Missionary Fund has grown by a still larger ratio.

Amongst the circumstances favourable to the South African Conference was the acquisition of several men of experience and power lent by English Methodism. There was John Walton of Ceylon (*see* p. 114), first President of the new Conference, and in 1887 President in England; James Calvert, the Fijian hero, who gave several years to South Africa; the eloquent Jonathan Smith Spencer, at Cape Town; and Owen Watkins, of whom we shall have to speak directly.

The Transvaal and Rhodesia

On the formation of the South African Conference in 1882, the Transvaal and Swaziland Mission, then in its infancy, remained under the care of the Missionary Society. The growth of this Mission has been a swift rehearsal and culmination of the history of Methodism in South Africa. The work accomplished on this field is one of the great achievements of modern missions, recalling the early progress of Methodism in America.

David Magata, a wandering Kaffir and escaped slave brought to the knowledge of Christ at Thaba 'Nchu (*see* p. 204), was the beginner of Transvaal Methodism. Hearing of fellow-countrymen without the Gospel in Potchefstroom, David sought them out; he told them his story and gave them his message, and a blessing was upon his word. The Boers of the town were incensed

* This figure includes the numbers gained by the incorporation of the minor Methodist Churches of the Colonies, which has taken place here as in Australasia and Canada.

at this " giving of the children's bread to dogs," and had the preacher publicly flogged and expelled. Some time later David was found on the Transvaal border by Paul Krüger—then the Boer Commandant, afterwards the redoubtable President of the Republic—who on hearing his tale sent him back to Potchefstroom, with a certificate which secured him from further interference. David resumed his mission amongst the Transvaal natives, giving his whole time and strength to the Lord's work, without salary or regular maintenance. He considered himself a Methodist preacher, and formed his converts into Classes after the Methodist pattern, waiting for the Church to arrive and take up the charge.

Some communication from David Magata had apparently reached the Mission House so early as 1865, for in that year " Potchefstroom " is named as a Circuit in the Bechuana District, with the words " One earnestly requested " attached to the name. It was not, however, till 1871 that George Blencowe, who had previously visited the Eastern Transvaal from Natal, travelled to this remote spot and found " an effectual door " opened to Methodism. By this time gold had been discovered in the neighbourhood, and Mr. Blencowe prophesied : " This country will one day be the most populous in South Africa. This increase in population will be mainly persons of English descent." His representations so impressed the authorities, that " Potchefstroom (Gold Mines) " appears on the list of Mission Stations for 1872, with three missionaries assigned to it, including the explorer as Superintendent.

The Potchefstroom Mission, distant by several hundred miles both from Natal and Bloemfontein, was carried on with difficulty and intermittently, so that in 1879 it had reached a membership of but sixty-two. In the following year, however, the province was formed into a separate District, with Owen Watkins for its Chairman. From that date a rapid development took place, attended with many tokens of Divine power. Ten years later the District consisted of thirty-nine Circuits, divided into four Sections—one of these (British Bechuanaland) lying westward of the Transvaal border, with Mafeking for its centre—in which fifteen English missionaries and ten Native ministers are serving ; some thirty " Native Agents " or " Evangelists " appear on the Stations besides. The Church-membership amounts to 2,200, less than a sixth of whom appear to be English.

During the 'eighties the Rand mines were opened ; Johannesburg was founded, and the rush to the Transvaal began. Our Church was now well-planted in the country, and Mr. Watkins was

the man for the hour. His activity was unwearied, his leadership inspiring; and he possessed the full sympathy of the Church at home. In such men as George Weavind, his successor in Chairmanship, George Lowe, Alfred Spring Sharp, Frederick J. Briscoe, Thomas H. Wainman he had bold and able lieutenants and captains. The work these men achieved would have been impossible but for the South African Church behind them, which supplied indispensable agents. Natives were drawn to the mines who had been touched by the Gospel far away; and groups of old converts were reached in the northern advance who had migrated from stations further south (*see* p. 204). Nor should the aid of Methodist immigrants, rendered freely at this time of need in all kinds of lay service, be forgotten.

The next decade, terminating with the war of 1899–1902, was one of unexampled progress. The Mashonaland Mission was started in 1891, entering the vast country now known as "Rhodesia," which stretches northwards from the Transvaal to the Zambesi River. Owen Watkins and Isaac Shimmin were our pioneers in the Rhodesia District, with its two Sections of Mashonaland and Matabeleland, which now employs ten English missionaries and reports a Church-membership of nearly 1,000, seven-eighths of them being Africans.

Here Methodism is securing its base for the march into Central Africa. The railway has now crossed the Zambesi, and is pushing rapidly northwards; our brethren in Rhodesia are already advancing into the North-West, a generous Bradford Methodist having provided the means.

After setting on foot the Mashonaland Mission, Mr. Watkins was compelled to return to England, in 1893; his ministry in Africa had been creative.

The astounding growth of Johannesburg and the mining population, amongst whom "the gold-fever" and its attendant evils prevailed in their acute form, tasked the utmost efforts of all the Churches; Methodism took a foremost part amongst them. The last returns made before the war, in 1899, credited the District with a Church-membership of nearly 9,000, one-sixth of these in and about Johannesburg.

The Swaziland Mission, amongst the tribes east of the Transvaal (where James Allison had laboured long ago, *see* p. 94), was yielding good fruit. Further to the east, at Delagoa Bay, where our mission had made an abortive attempt seventy years before, a Church of 170 Methodists had been gathered by the ministry of Robert Mashaba. This African pioneer was transported by the Portuguese (under groundless charges of political

agitation) to Cape de Verde for preaching the Gospel; he is still forbidden their territory. In the Circuit of Delagoa Bay, Methodism at the present date (1912) counts nearly 600 members.

The war scattered our people, and turned missionaries into army-chaplains and chapels into hospitals. The swift recovery of the Church from this desolation proved the soundness of its fabric, and the strong attachment both of its English and Native adherents. A new Chairman was found for the Transvaal District in Amos Burnet, a missionary of Indian experience, who has brought to his new charge a great fund of energy and statesmanship. With the restoration of peace and the return of the dispersed people, the work of evangelism was resumed more vigorously than ever. Fifteen recruits from home joined the ministerial staff, including men of standing and experience, such as John Howard, who applied knowledge gained in the East of London to the problems of Johannesburg. Secretary Hartley came out to aid in the reconstruction that followed the close of the war. The Kilnerton Institution, holding 100 students—the largest of its kind in the country—was established near Pretoria, for the training of native ministers and teachers; a similar College was started in Mashonaland, where the war had hardly disturbed the Mission. Sekhukhuniland, in the north-east of the Transvaal, was now entered, and its once intractable natives yielded obedience to the Gospel.

Within a few years it could be said that "the Rand was fully occupied, and the standard of our Church was planted in every town and village of the Transvaal." Churches, manses, schools, sprang up in all directions. The Church-membership of the District since 1899 has more than doubled, and stands now at over 20,000. The cross of Christ is effectually lifted up by Methodism amongst the multitudes from every nation under heaven that throng the Transvaal cities; while through its ministry to the shifting native population employed at the mines, and to the scattered tribes of the veldt, it is spreading the leaven of the new life through South-central Africa.

CHAPTER XVI

Tides of Missionary Zeal

Methodism in England arose to supply a new vehicle for the universal Gospel. As in the case of apostolic Christianity, its foreign missionary activity was the irrepressible outcome of its

interior life, of the world-love of Christ which gave it birth (*see* Chapter I.). If this be so, then the beating of the missionary pulse in Methodism furnishes an index of its health; as the tides of missionary zeal rise or fall, the spiritual vigour of the Church waxes or wanes. The Connexional form of our missionary organization, which makes the Missionary Society and the Church practically identical (*see* p. 26), testifies to this vital relationship. Our African or Indian Provinces are not extraneous appendages; they are limbs of the "one body," which suffers or rejoices with its remotest members. The term "foreign" is a misnomer for our brethren overseas; these are "no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints and of the household of God." From end to end of the earth true Methodists sing together:

> "Subsists there in us all one soul;
> No power can make us twain.
> And mountains rise and oceans roll
> To sever us in vain!"

Hence the quickening of Church-life at home heightens missionary enthusiasm; and lowered vitality in British Methodism betrays itself in thinly-attended missionary meetings and reduced subscriptions, in paucity of volunteers for the foreign field, in a depleted exchequer and divided counsels at Bishopsgate. The annual home income of the Missionary Society may not reflect in any given year the mind of the people toward the work of God abroad. Commercial depression tells on most charitable funds; there are times when people give less because they have less. Connexional emergencies at home, the clamant needs of new local or national philanthropies, from time to time absorb the sympathies of the generously disposed; and the wider flow of Christian liberality is checked as this part or that of the stream is drawn off for objects, more or less worthy, which lie nearer at hand. After due allowance made for these contingencies, it remains true that, for a Church of the creed and the genius of Methodism, its work for world-humanity is its dominating interest; missionary outlay forms a principal charge upon its resources; and the missionary income supplies a thermometer of its vital heat, a gauge of its working force.

It will be remembered (Chapter II.) that for thirty years before the beginning of the W.M.M.S., Dr. Coke had been the almost sole director of the Missions—in the British Isles, as well as in the Colonies and West Indies. The missionary fund, gathered chiefly by himself and supplemented by an annual collection in

the chapels, reached in the last fourteen months of Dr. Coke's responsibility the sum of £5,500. The starting of the Missionary Society (Chapter III.), nearly doubled this sum in 1813–14; by the year 1818, when the Society had become fully organised and was at work in every Methodist District, the total home income had passed the figure of £8,000.* From that time forwards until 1846 it grew by leaps and bounds, reaching at the date just named the amount of £94,000 (in round numbers).

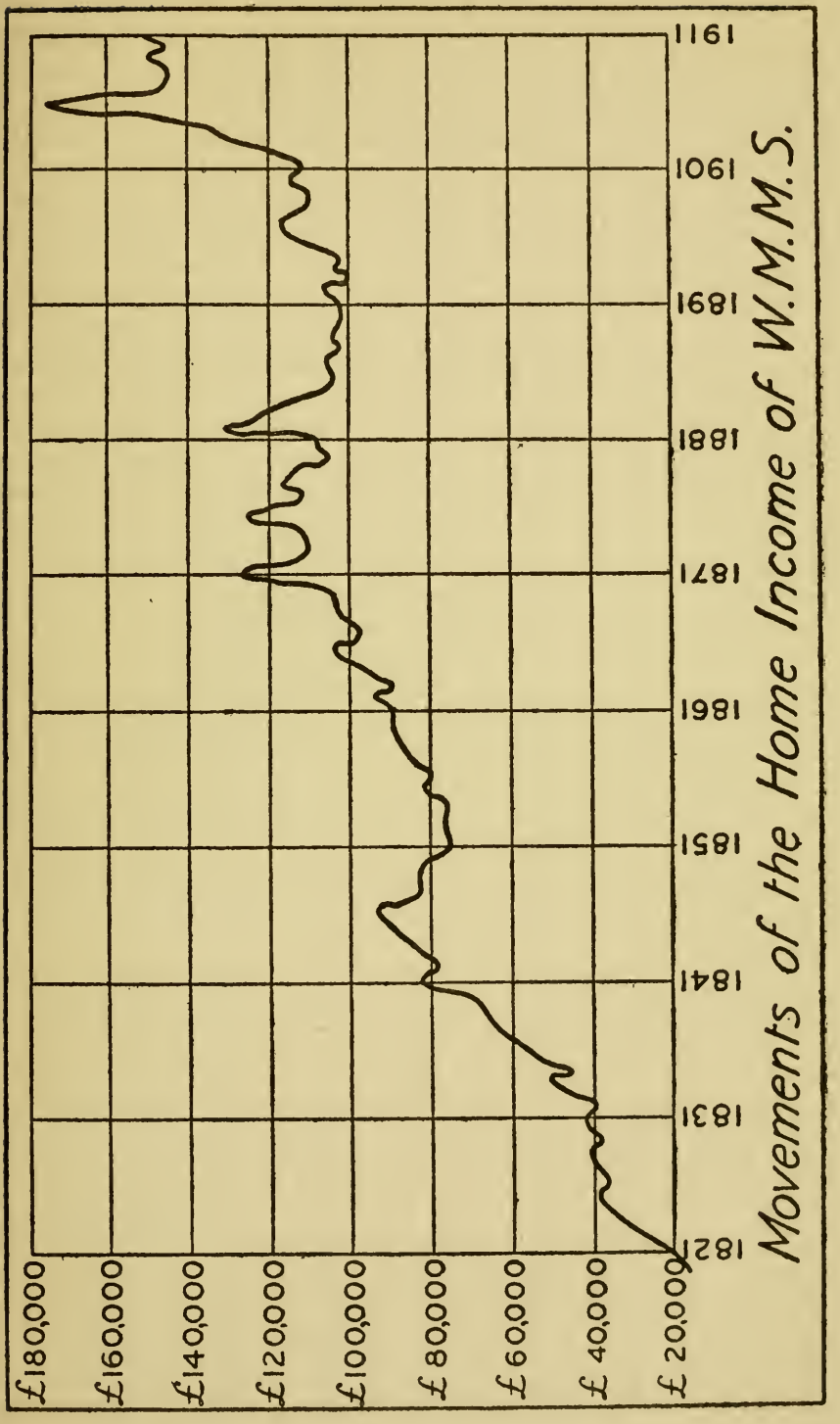
Then came an arrest; five years later the home contributions had been reduced to £76,000. After this decline, the advance was resumed, at a much slower pace. In 1856 the revenue is £80,100; at the end of the next quinquennium, £91,500; in 1866, £103,500—passing the high-water mark of twenty years earlier; 1871 saw the total raised to £125,600. Here, or a little later, another summit was reached; but by 1876, when the income stood at £115,000, a new retreat began—slight indeed, but continuing, irregularly, for fifteen years. In 1891 the Home revenue fell to £102,000—the lowest figure for a quarter of a century. A slow turn in the tide now came about, which lifted the income by £10,000 (or 10 per cent.) during the next ten years; after this, a sudden rise in 1906, marked by an extraordinary demonstration in favour of Foreign Missions at the Nottingham Conference. The contributions of Home Methodism to the Missionary Society in that year reached their maximum of £174,000 (including, however, an *extra* of nearly £8,000 subscribed for debt removal).† It is disappointing that the tide has dropped once more in the last five years, the 1911 income realising £145,000—a figure only fractionally above that of forty years ago.

The history of the missionary revenue is represented by the annexed diagram, which explains itself. The two conspicuous features of the curve are: first, the reduced acceleration of the later upward movements; and secondly, the periodic character of the larger fluctuations experienced. The points of maximum elevation are the years 1846, 1871 and 1906, those of maximum depression are 1851 and 1893.

The factors determining the movement of income are complex,

* In the statements of income here given, foreign contributions are excluded; likewise legacies, grants from the Centenary and similar occasional funds, and other incidental items going to make up the Society's gross income; we are concerned only with the annual proceeds accruing from the Home Church in the shape of collections, subscriptions, donations.

† Attempts to wipe out accumulated debt account for several of the upward jerks of the income-curve at earlier dates, notably in 1882.


Movements of the Home Income of W.M.M.S.
£180,000
£160,000
£140,000
£120,000
£100,000
£80,000
£60,000
£40,000
£20,000
1821
1831
1841
1851
1861
1871
1881
1891
1901
1911

and require a more exact analysis than we can furnish. The rise or fall has not been greatly affected by secular conditions, though it is true that the commercial panic of 1827 sent the income down, and the crest of the wave in the early 'seventies accompanied a period of high prices and trade-expansion. On the other hand, during the first decade of the Society's history, when the growth of the income was phenomenal, the country was in a state of economic collapse ensuing on the close of the French War, and home Methodism was in dire financial straits; through "the black 'thirties" the missionary tide rose unabated. Nor have the great Connexional efforts in money-raising, made at intervals since the Centenary of Methodism in 1839, impoverished the Mission House. Through the early 'forties the Missionary Fund swelled rapidly; the epoch of the Missionary Jubilee,* which elicited a special fund of nearly £200,000, raised instead of lowering the annual contributions; the Thanksgiving Fund of 1879, and the recent Twentieth Century Fund, did not appreciably tell against the yearly Missionary income—the latter synchronized with an upward movement.

The income climbed up during two prolonged periods—1832–46 and 1856–71; again, for a shorter space, in 1901–6. The first great climb is associated with West Indian Emancipation, with the victories of the Gospel in Tonga and Fiji, with Freeman's powerful appeal for West Africa (p. 74), and with the striking developments of William Shaw's plan of campaign in South Africa. The second accompanied the launching of the Missions to China and to Italy, and the new concern for India awakened by the Mutiny. The third upward movement coincided with the renewed claim of the West Indies on English help, and with

* Our chapter on the Jubilee of 1863, excluded for lack of room, must be reduced to this footnote. The flock gathered into Christ's fold by the Missionary Society during a half-century of labour (1813–63) had grown from 17,000 to nearly 200,000—two-thirds of these being in 1863 under the care of independent Conferences; the Mission Staff had multiplied from 49 to 1,120, including ministers of the Affiliated Conferences. A corresponding advance in methods and appliances, and in the development of Church institutions, had been effected. The Jubilee celebrations, commencing in Leeds on October 6th, extended to every part of the Connexion; it was a festival of world-wide Methodism. The total fund raised was close upon £190,000, which enabled the Society to provide for the training of its Missionaries, and for the care of disabled and superannuated workers, to improve substantially the mission-plant in the foreign districts, to wipe out the accumulated debt of recent years, and to lay the foundation of a working capital for its general operations. Thus relieved of embarrassments, the Missionary Society went on its way rejoicing.—If Wesleyan Methodism could find £190,000 for its Jubilee Missionary Fund, *how much more for the Centenary?*

the marvellous recent expansion of our work in the Transvaal (p. 210) and in China (p. 167).

The first of the two epochs of depression (1851 and 1893), marked by the wave-troughs in our diagram, has an obvious explanation. The struggle over Connexional Reform, culminating in 1849, which rent from our Church a third of its home-membership, affected disastrously all its interests. Methodism lost ground in that time of schism and scandal, which she has not yet recovered ; the shaking of her confidence and the lowering of her prestige were consequences of the rupture, more lamentable than her diminution in numbers and wealth. The Foreign Missionary interest proved a saving influence at this time of shipwreck ; not a few who were tempted to leave " the old Body," rallied to it in support of this holy cause—the thought of " the Missions " being shattered was intolerable ! The Missionary Society was mulcted, however, in a fifth of its income ; and when the storm had passed and the Fund began to recover, it rose with difficulty—the old buoyancy was gone. The retrenchments enforced in the 'fifties checked and discouraged our missions in South and West Africa (*see* pp. 91, 77), India (*see* p. 121), and the West Indies (*see* p. 61) ; they delayed the commencement in China (*see* p. 152).

The depression of 1893 had its antecedent in the unhappy Missionary Controversy of 1889–90 respecting the policy and modes of life of the Indian missionaries. The Society's home income had been going down, on the whole, since 1875, and declined by £10,000 in the years preceding the controversy. The agitation of 1889 was an effect and symptom of the growing coolness toward Missions, and not its cause. But this attack aggravated a situation already difficult, and carried suspicion into quarters where hitherto it had been unfelt. Mistrust in a sacred cause is easier to excite than to allay ; and the vindication of the impeached missionaries, made at the Conference of 1890, could not wholly undo the mischief done.

Wider reasons must be sought, however, for the stagnation of missionary income, which lasted more or less for thirty years. How far it was due to theological unsettlement and the slackening of evangelical zeal, how far to the slow progress of Eastern Missions which bulked more and more largely in our operations, and how far to the absorption of Methodism in its domestic affairs—in the improvement of its plant, and in new and costly home-missionary undertakings—it might be hard to say. The premier place in popularity appeared to pass from Foreign Missions to the great City Missions at home.

It is to be noted that the Society was bereft at this time in rapid succession, and prematurely to human seeming, of its foremost leaders and advocates—Luke H. Wiseman, George T. Perks, W. Morley Punshon, William O. Simpson, John Kilner. The Mission House was robbed of its wisest counsellors, and frequent changes came about in the Secretariat; the missionary platform missed potent and familiar voices. These losses weakened the defences of the Society, against the time of danger.

Enthusiasm for missions to the heathen was giving place to criticism, both inside and outside of our Church; the sense of the world-need for Christ and the world-duty of His people had been somehow blunted. The age of missionary romance and heroism seemed to have passed. The West Indies, the South Seas, South Africa, by virtue of their evangelisation, now scantily supplied the tales of encounters with cannibals and Kafir hordes, of hair-breadth escapes and cruel imprisonments and desperate hardships, which had thrilled missionary audiences of a previous generation. The whole subject had lost its novelty and glamour. The first ardour of the campaign had passed; victories over the light-armed troops of heathenism had been gained, which seemed to promise a comparatively rapid conquest; but the heavier tasks, of assailing the huge fortresses of eastern superstition and demonism, now looming before the Church, required an invincible patience and a skilled method, the necessity for which had been imperfectly realised. Methodism showed signs under this strain of weariness in well-doing. The time had come for the faith that "walks not by the look of things"; emotion must be supported and undergirt by principle; instructed thought and deliberate plan must replace unconsidered impulse and romantic sentiment. Where the seed of missionary faith had been sown in shallow ground, at this time of testing it "withered away."

A deeper conception of the ground and aim of missions to the heathen, and a larger grasp of the world-problem, were necessary, if the Church was to carry through its enterprise, and to fulfil its Lord's commission on a scale adequate to modern conditions and opportunities. There are signs, multiplying during the last ten years, that such worthier conceptions are forming amongst the leaders of the Churches, that a fuller and more compelling vision of duty to mankind is coming to the Christian conscience. The Student Christian Movement, which has spread through the intellectual youth of Christendom, is charged with strong convictions of missionary duty, and is raising up for the Churches workers of firm faith and broad human sympathies. Amongst our own thoughtful young people, Missionary Study is being taken

up with a zest which cannot fail to be productive in years to come. The Laymen's Missionary Movement in America has quickened the energies of Missionary Societies across the Atlantic, and created a new standard of missionary giving. The laymen of the Evangelical Communions are considering their collective duty toward the heathen world ; they recognize how grievously this has been neglected, and how greatly the aggressive forces of the Gospel are wasted for want of co-operation. British laymen are beginning to enter on the same enquiry.

The Edinburgh Missionary Conference, of June, 1910, revealed the working of new forces in the missionary life of Christendom. A spirit of " zeal, and unity, and power " rested upon that great assembly, gathered from the ends of the earth and from the whole Protestant fellowship, which filled all participators with thankful amazement ; it was felt to be an earnest of the pouring out of God's Spirit upon all flesh.

The shaking of the Far East that we are now witnessing—especially the revolution in China, following upon the martyrdoms of the Boxer Persecution—is evidence of the powerful impact of Christianity upon the mind of Asia, which gives encouragement to Missionary endeavour, and constitutes a call for missionary effort and sacrifice of unparalleled magnitude. The trend of international affairs has drawn the English-speaking peoples irresistibly into world-politics. Commerce and science are every year knitting closer the bands of the world's commonwealth. The white man is compelled to feel that he is his brother's keeper, and that it cannot be well with himself while his black or brown fellow-man is brutalised by oppression or frenzied by demonism. Comparative Religion has disclosed the identical spiritual nature and needs which make humanity a single race, " the offspring of God " ; it enables us to trace the lines of aberration and the course of degeneracy which man has followed in his wanderings from God, and the lines of aspiration and sacrifice along which he gropes after God. Everything is making for a more conscious solidarity, a freer commerce both in material and spiritual goods between people and people than our fathers knew. Insular selfishness, the limitations of the home-horizon, are becoming difficult to the modern man—still more to the intelligent Christian man, most of all to the man of Methodist faith and sympathies. Such indications surely point to the coming of a tide of missionary zeal of wider scope and richer energy than the Church of Christ has witnessed hitherto.

But the tides move at the lift of forces beyond the earth. No calculation drawn from the signs of the times in human thought

and society, will guide us to any sure expectation in spiritual matters, apart from the supernatural factor; this is always sovereign and decisive. There is a "wind" that "bloweth where it listeth," whose comings and goings no science can trace, no sagacity predict. Therefore the all-imperative need of *prayer*. Surely God who is causing many of His servants to "abound in hope through the Holy Spirit," will be pleased, in His people's asking, to give His Holy Spirit, at this new "fulness of the times," in adequate fulness of power to the whole body of His Church.

Never was there such an opportunity (we may reverently say) for the Spirit of Christ as the world presents just now. There are, on the one hand, the vast forces of modern Christendom—ethical, intellectual, material—lying disjointed, unorganized, cumbered and entangled with all sort of secular hindrances; there are the vast fields of heathenism—visible, accessible, already reached and reclaimed in patches here and there. How to bring these two together—to bring the faith and love, the wisdom and manifold remedial help, of the whole Church to bear upon the whole world! That is a task—of unification, inspiration, and direction—the largest that the world and time have yet offered to the Holy Spirit of God. It is a work not beyond His strength, nor beyond His purpose. But His action is strangely made contingent on human desire and prayer. "The Lord *whom ye seek* shall suddenly come to His temple!"

CHAPTER XVII

The World Call to Methodism

The story told in this book is not of

"far-off things
And battles long ago";

it is of a war in being, a campaign in mid course. While these pages are being read, native recruits are drilling; new drafts are sailing for the front; news of victory or defeat is on its way home; great questions of strategy and policy are in debate among the leaders; every-day heroisms are making the joy of warfare for the rank and file. The tale has not yet reached its Finis; we of modern Methodism are to figure in it, as well as read it. Its chapters resound with challenges that must surely fire the blood.

Listen, for instance, to *the challenge of heroic example and great achievement.* What tasks, spite of all hindrances and weaknesses, the past century has seen accomplished! Fiji, from an outpost of hell, become a home of Christian light; the Britains overseas, in their swift incalculable spread, leavened by the Methodist witness, chaplained by the Methodist preacher, so that the British Empire to-day is as definitely Christian in its outlying provinces as at its centre; our tutelage of West Indian negrodom, from an ancestry of fetishism and a childhood of slavery, up toward the full-grown man in Christ Jesus; our array of missionary graves, and of vigorous native Churches, in West Africa; the contribution of our Missions to the Christianization of the thought and conscience of India; our contingent to the army of Christ in China, planted in its commanding centres, furnished with the most modern appliances of the Gospel warfare: such are the "labours into which we are entered"; they are our heritage, our vantage-ground,—and our challenge!

What stalwarts the Hundred Years' War has revealed—and has bred! This world-campaign has a spell that draws to it great souls, and makes them greater; it lifts humble lives to shining table-lands of wide and joyous service. Our Missions have at once satisfied, and enhanced, the passion for Christ and for humanity of a Coke, the statesmanship of a Bunting, the rich imagination of a Newton, the scholarship of a Gogerly, the daring of a Calvert, the consuming energy of a William Black, the rare selflessness of a David Hill. From many a village congregation they have called forth the humble Methodist lad, perhaps to win to Christ a Thakombau and his people, perhaps to tame a new language to the service of the Gospel, to champion the black man against proud white oppressors, to shepherd for Christ great helpless communities, to lay foundations or build walls of some new city of God; or perhaps to lay down life still unlived, that hard soil might be softened and enriched by martyr-blood.

Let us remind ourselves, in these days of languor and mediocrity, that we are of the line of the fighters, builders, heroes, martyrs, saints of missionary annals. *And we have it in us to be worthy of them.* Exploits as arduous and as splendid as any that they have achieved, invite our courage to-day. For men and women of the Methodist breed, heirs of the world-warfare against the kingdom of darkness, life offers now as in the old time glorious possibilities to a loyal faith.

Listen then to *the challenge of the half-won battle,* which rings insistent from the pages of the missionary story. In the nation or in the Church, there are few appeals that touch honour more

nearly, few pledges more constraining, than those which arise from the blood and treasure poured out by former generations for noble ends. Our fathers played their brave part, and " died in faith " ; their reward must come through our hands. Some great things they began and completed,—as when Colonial Methodism in three continents, born of their labours, was nurtured to manhood and in a few decades ceased to need their care. In other of their God-given tasks, the most arduous part is concluded ; we inherit diminishing responsibilities, and the prospect of a happy and not distant completion ; there are native Churches, in west and south and east, which give token of adolescence and anticipate the day when they too will keep their own house. But in the main the world-enterprise of Methodism presents, as the second century dawns, the enthralling aspect of the Battle-at-its-crisis. We see in most of our twenty-nine Mission Districts costly beginnings—liable to come to nought if we fail, certain to repay richly our fathers' outlay and ours, if we are faithful. A Century of Preparation closes, to offer us the Century of Fruition.

But the fruit of past toil and tears will not drop into our mouths while we sit idle. What was begun by the dogged labour, the sustained sacrifice which these pages record, must be completed by the supreme effort, the " advance all along the line " that turns struggle to victory, by the strenuous reaping that secures the long-looked-for harvest.

What a costly *beginning*, for example, is our West African base-line, with its rampart of graves fronting vast hinterlands! What an imperious challenge speaks in the position won slowly, foot by foot, in cities like Mysore, Barcelona, Wuchow, Colombo ; at strategic points such as Lucknow, Mandalay, Changsha, Buluwayo, Panama,—boldly seized and tenaciously held for the future advance ; in the mass-movements of Haidarabad or Kafirland ; in a China—tremendous phenomenon !—turned receptive, an India anxious to accommodate Christ in its pantheon ; in the world-languages mastered, the world's doors shaken open, the world's face turned about from the past to the future, its hands emptied of the old and groping for the new.

This world-situation—this centenary crisis—is no fortuitous happening. It is the crucial point at which the striving and sacrifice of past generations have arrived. It enshrines their labour of love laid down in death incomplete, their sacred hope bequeathed to us. The walls of huge fortresses of evil have been breached—the hour strikes for the assault ! Were we of the twentieth century to trifle with this heritage of ripe occasion, we

should nullify, in large part, the work of the century behind us; most assuredly, we should miss for ourselves the way of honour and gladness.

Our Methodist forefathers counted on us; they embarked on a hundred tasks that were folly and waste, if we might not be trusted to continue and complete them. We shall put them to shame as well as ourselves, if in our second century Time writes over the door: "This man began to build, and was not able to finish!" But if we honour their faith in us and take up their commitments, we shall find that they have left the best part to their successors. Theirs the long wilderness-journey, ours to go up and possess the land. The law runs on from one dispensation to another: "God" hath "provided some better thing concerning us, that apart from us they should not be made perfect."

"Some better thing"—for comparison of then and now confronts us with *the challenge of ampler opportunity and fuller equipment.* There is a singular parallel between the positions of Methodism on the threshold of its first and of its second missionary century—history repeats itself; at both epochs a startling new world-summons came to an unexpectant and seemingly inadequate Church.

If we are faced with "a new world to be won for Christ" (Edinburgh Conference: *Message to the Churches*), so were our ancestors. In their times of burgeoning empire and adventurous trade, a world hitherto unknown was being partly revealed, partly created; and their favourite aspiration, "O that the world might taste and see!" as they sang it, widened before their eyes.

But our "new world" is both larger in dimensions and, for those who can hear, more impressive in its appeals than the new world opening in 1813. By how much their oceanic view outranged the Mediterranean horizon of early Christendom, by so much does our world in magnitude and fulness surpass theirs. For the first time since "Go ye into all the world" was uttered, the known world is the whole world. Not now the island-fringes and shores, but the continental masses; not the rude and plastic tribes, but the mighty peoples of ancient and settled culture; not the crude primitive heathenisms, but the elaborate and profound religious systems antagonize the Church of Christ to-day. The present-day problems of world-evangelization compared with those of a hundred years back, are as the higher mathematics to the simple rules of arithmetic. God honours us, who are so unworthy, by inviting us to conquests beyond our fathers' dreams.

Are we tempted to think this exigent world-summons ill-timed ? " How can Churches hard pressed at home and baffled by the scepticism and godlessness of the age, face gigantic tasks outside of Christendom ? How," it is asked, " can the Methodism of to-day, with declining numbers, financial strain, multiplied home-problems—conscious as it is of inward malaise and malady —be called to a duty more than sufficient for the unburdened powers of the most robust and healthiest of Churches ? This supposed ' world-crisis ' is surely a mis-reading of the signs of the times ; or else, for once, the synchronisms of Providence are at fault, and we are faced with the flatly impossible ! "

If it is thus we are tempted to judge our epoch, the parallel juncture of a century ago supplies a cordial. For the call of the new world of 1813 came to a Methodism more desperately unequal to its opportunity than we can pretend to be. As we have seen, it was a Methodism scarcely out of its cradle which flung itself upon the enterprise of foreign missions ; a Methodism at a financial impasse compared with which our embarrassments are ease ; a Methodism which, as its leaders told it, risked its very existence when it founded the Missionary Society. In view of the national and ecclesiastical situation, those years were the most inopportune conceivable for such attempts. Yet it was those years that God chose for the purpose ; and history testifies how splendidly the Methodism of that time by losing its life saved it ; how in responding to God's world-call the Church discovered springs of energy out of which deliverance was wrought at home, while strength was forthcoming for exploits at the ends of the earth. " The wisdom of God," which is " foolishness with men," offers to Methodism in our day the like salvation by sacrifice,—the old way of the cross !

Considered fairly, our equipment for the new century's world-campaign is as much ampler than our fathers', as our opportunity is grander. Modern facilities of travel and communication, modern knowledge of world-conditions, the inter-linking of mankind which is the outstanding marvel of modern history, combine to give us, for missionary purposes, an unprecedented advantage. Above all, we have at our command the experience and apparatus gained through a century of hard schooling. What pathetic waste of time, money, energy, even life, the early annals of all the Missionary Societies exhibit,—through inevitable ignorance, unconquerable distance, tentative policies, unorganized forces ! Gradually, as the decades have passed, the strategy and tactics of the campaign have been evolved, the branches of the service developed and specialised, the weapons of the warfare hammered

into shape. The field has been measured in its length and breadth; valleys have been exalted, hills levelled, rough places made plain and crooked things straight. The Edinburgh Conference of 1910 impressively exhibited the missionary science and war-*matériel* that are available for the Church's use to-day. In numbers, wealth, knowledge, access, experience, organization, we transcend immeasurably the conditions under which our fathers took in hand their world-task; not with shrinking and dismay, but with glowing confidence ought we to welcome the larger summons addressed to our ears.

Listen, finally, to the message that is the diapason note of the missionary story,—*the challenge of the revealed resources of God.*

When the utmost has been made of man's part in the doing, the true comment on the hundred years' work is: "What hath GOD wrought?" To look no deeper than the human would be to miss "the very pulse of the machine." This world-campaign is spiritual through and through, or it is futility and falsehood; it is God here who "worketh all things in all"—unless we see that, we see nothing.

Missionary work, and missionary study, help us in quite new ways to learn what God is like. In the distant we discern Him often more plainly than in the near—in the starry heavens rather than among city streets; in the pages of history better than in "the day's confusion, toil and din." Where the battle-line stretches farthest and the fight is hottest, where the disproportion between human strength and the appointed task is extreme, there we make the crowning discovery of the God of the Limitless Resources, the God of the Impossible!

The story of the Gospel—its first coming, and its later diffusion—is a cryptogram of which the key is GOD. Omit Him, and it is a tissue of impossible characters, irrational aims, unaccountable events. What was there in the eighteenth-century England to produce the men and women of vision and ardour that this campaign called for, and found? It was the Spirit of Jesus, taking possession of many common and of a few uncommon peoples, that lifted them to the level of their high undertaking. What human skill or power opened closed doors, shaped and synchronized events, controlled the passions of savage chiefs and turbulent peoples, brought escape so often from impending disasters, fruition out of frustration, abounding harvest from scanty and misapplied tillage? Looking at the little Liverpool Conference of 1813 representing the poverty-stricken Methodist sect, what madman would have foretold that the overseas work for whose extension Dr. Coke wrestled with that reluctant assembly, would after 100 years have

yielded Churches numbering nigh a million members, spread over five continents? "Poor, yet making many rich; pressed on every side, yet not straitened; smitten down, yet not destroyed; dying, and behold, we live!"—these are the constant paradoxes of our missionary annals; for "the exceeding greatness of the power" is "of God, and not from ourselves."

This lesson of the overwhelming resources of God is at once the most compelling, and the most encouraging, message that our first century passes on to the second. It banishes timorous misgivings; it allures with the prospect of wonders "ready to be revealed."

Standing on the threshold of the new age, dismayed by decline of faith and defect of vision, by the weight of her home-burdens and the difficulty of her internal problems, the Church beholds world-issues emerging of unimagined vastness and complication, which it is for her to control and shape. Let her look back, and see how in every stage of her warfare man's extremity has been God's opportunity; her whole history is a revealing of new resources in Almighty God. We have not to ask whether the task is compassable, but only whether it is *commanded*. If the Master's call be clear, we shall find that, either on the sea like Peter or through the sea like Israel, we are somehow able to go forward.

And the world-call to the Wesleyan Methodist Church, at the opening of our second missionary century, "with how large letters" it is written! It is the call of ripe harvests for the reaper; of the battle in mid-clash for the good soldier; of infant Churches, our own offspring, for the nursing-mother; the call of a world in crisis, seeking everything but Christ, needing Christ more than everything. The call is piercingly clear; and the voices of fear and self-regarding prudence are hushed before the revealed resources of God in Christ,—the same last century, this century, and for ever!

The story cannot more fitly close than with the closing message of the Edinburgh Conference: "There is certainly implied in this imperative call of duty a latent assurance that God is greater, more loving, nearer and more available for our help and comfort, than any man has dreamed. . . . We are called to make new discoveries of the grace and power of God, for ourselves, for the Church, and for the world; and in the strength of that firmer and bolder faith in Him, to face the new age and the new task with a new consecration."

Wyman & Sons Ltd., Printers, London and Reading.

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Date Due

JUN 15 1996
10/31/96

PRINTED IN U. S. A.